The Outlook

Vol. 65 June 30, 1900 No. 9

CONTENTS

THE WEEK:

The War in China..... 461
Count Muraviev..... 463
The Boer War..... 463
The Philippines..... 464
Taxation in Spain..... 465
The Gold Standard in India..... 465
At the Colleges..... 466
The University of London..... 467
Andover Theological Seminary..... 467
The Twentieth Century Fund..... 468
Arctic Missions..... 468
Presbyterian Assembly of Canada..... 469
Augustus Lowell..... 469
Lord Salisbury and the Missionaries..... 470
The Swiss Homes..... 471
Unitarianism in Hungary..... 472

EDITORIALS:

The Republican Convention..... 472
The Dangerous Moment..... 475
The Edwards Commemoration..... 476
The Spectator..... 478

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES:

The Republican Convention:
I.—From a Republican Staff Correspondent..... 480
II.—From a Democratic Staff Correspondent..... 484
The Republican Platform..... 491
The Reform Movement in China..... 494
By Isaac Taylor Headland
Georgia's Ruling: A Story..... 498
By O. Henry

BOOKS AND AUTHORS:

A Hopeful View of Democracy (F. H. Giddings's "Democracy and Empire")... 504
Books of the Week..... 507
NOTES AND QUERIES..... 512

The Outlook is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The first issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

Price.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

Postage is Prepaid by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 for postage.

Change of Address.—When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

Discontinuances.—If a subscriber wishes his copy of the paper discontinued at the expiration of his subscription, notice to that effect should be sent. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

How to Remit.—Remittances should be sent by Draft on New York, Express-Order, or Money-Order, payable to order of THE OUTLOOK COMPANY. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

Letters should be addressed:

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

287 Fourth Avenue, New York

Copyright, 1900, by The Outlook Company. Entered as second-class matter in the New York Post-Office.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Books for Summer Reading

Oh, What a Plague is Love!

By KATHARINE TYNAN, author of "The Dear Irish Girl," "She Walks in Beauty," etc. 12mo. 75 cents.

In this bright little story the author has told in a most entertaining way how a too keen susceptibility to the tender passion on the part of a gallant though somewhat elderly gentleman is a constant source of anxiety to his grown-up children, who are devotedly attached to him.

The dialogue is sparkling throughout, the characters charmingly naïve and natural, and the book fairly bubbles over with fun and good humor. It is an ideal book for summer outings.

"Leigh Hunt would have delighted in Mrs. Hinkson. He knew how to value high spirits in a writer, and the gaiety of this cheerful story would have charmed him immensely."
—*The Saturday Review.*

The Dread and Fear of Kings

By J. BRECKENRIDGE ELLIS. 12mo. $1.25.

This is a historical romance whose background is the reign of terror in the time of Tiberius; and the story of love and adventure which it sets before the reader gives a vivid presentation of Roman life under this despotism. The movement of the story is swift and varied; the dialogue is piquant, and the book abounds with deeds of valor.

"For stirring adventure and romantic love scenes one need go no further. Mr. Ellis has written a book that will be eagerly read by all who like a stirring and well-told story."
—*The Chicago Tribune.*

The Cardinal's Musketeer

By Miss M. IMLAY TAYLOR, author of "The House of the Wizard," "A Yankee Volunteer," "An Imperial Lover," and "On the Red Staircase." 12mo. $1.25.

This is a story of a gallant youth who enters the service of Cardinal Richelieu. His daring deeds and his chivalric wooing of the aristocratic Renée form one of the most delightful romances Miss Taylor has written. It captivates at once and holds the attention throughout.

"The tale is full of life and love; of daring night rides, of gallant fights. It is a stirring romance, overflowing with life and action."—*The Indianapolis News.*

McLoughlin and Old Oregon

A Chronicle

By EVA EMERY DYE. 12mo, gilt top, $1.50.

This is a most graphic and interesting chronicle of the movement that added to the United States that vast territory, previously a British possession, of which Oregon formed a part, and of how Dr. John McLoughlin, then chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company for the northwest, by his fatherly interest in the settlers, displeased the Hudson Bay Company and aided the United States.

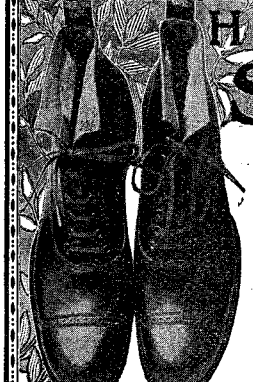
The author has gathered her facts at first hand, and as a result the work is vivid and picturesque and reads like a romance.

"Mrs. Dye had rare material at hand and has used it with great skill and effectiveness. She has the historian's gift for bringing out significant events—the novelist's gift for vivifying characters."—*The Buffalo Express.*

For sale by booksellers generally, or sent postpaid on receipt of price, by the publishers

A. C. McCLURG & CO., CHICAGO

RALSTON HEALTH SHOE



For Men
$4.00

They appeal to the young man's fancy and the business man's sense, for they combine the comforts of special anatomical lasts, which are pleasing also to the eye, the best of materials, the highest grade of workmanship, and a fair price.

You can get less of a shoe for more money, but you cannot buy more of a shoe for the same. Delivered anywhere in United States for $4.25.

Write for free catalogue of "HEALTH SHOES." It tells all about them, how to buy and how to care for them.

RALSTON HEALTH SHOEMAKERS
CAMPELLO, MASS.

Growing Children

When children are growing they require an excessive amount of food, not only to supply the waste due to their active habits, but to supply constructive material to their growing frames. Cereal foods are among those necessary to the best growth and wheat is the best of the cereals.

CREAM OF WHEAT

is the most nutritious of the wheat food preparation, as it is free from the indigestible husk, contains only a little starch, which is the poorest of foods, and retains all the really nutrient elements.

Cream of Wheat Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Outlook

Published Weekly

Vol. 65 June 30, 1900 No. 9

War in China Early last week the foreign quarters at Tientsin were bombarded by the Chinese, who had a surprising number of guns, and fought with great stubbornness. They had already burned the foreign concessions, including the American Consulate, a particularly handsome edifice, when they were attacked by a force of Americans and Russians. Our marines were under charge of Major Waller (whose gallant conduct in Cuba should be remembered by every one), but the force was ambushed by the Chinese; four of our marines were killed and seven wounded. The announcement that Prince Tuan, the father of the heir-apparent, and the chief adviser of the Empress Dowager, had assumed command of the Chinese troops at Tientsin is regarded as evidence that the Empress has actually declared war on the combined Powers, and that the entire military force of China is to be employed on behalf of the Boxers. It is said that she had previously appointed Prince Tuan President of the Chun Chi Chu, or Privy Council, in which is invested the supreme direction of the Chinese Empire. On Wednesday of last week the following proclamation was issued: "The admirals and senior naval officers of the allied powers in China desire, in the name of their Governments, to let it be known to all the viceroys and to the authorities of coast and river provinces and cities in China that they intend to use armed force only against the Boxers, and to those people who oppose them in the march to Peking for the rescue of their fellow-countrymen." It is believed that the Foreign Ministers at Peking are still protected by the troops, notwithstanding alarming reports to the contrary. As, however, no trustworthy news has come from the legations at Peking during the past fortnight, anxious apprehension is justified. It is also a fortnight since the international force left Tientsin for Peking, but we have no news of its progress beyond Langfang. The situation at present writing is thus summarized in a despatch from the British Admiral Bruce at Taku:

> The total force which left Tientsin with the Commander-in-Chief (Admiral Sir Edward Seymour) for Peking was about two thousand, composed of detachments from the allied ships. No action could possibly be taken to relieve the Commander-in-Chief, because it was only known that he was cut off by Tientsin being invested. Tientsin has been fighting for its life ever since. It was on receipt of information that the Chinese army had ordered trains for attacking Tientsin, that they were ravaging Tongku and reinforcing Taku, as well as mining the mouth of the Peiho, that it was promptly determined to seize Taku. Since then every effort has been made to relieve Tientsin. I have commandeered a small coasting steamer for taking troops and sick and wounded across the bay to Weihaiwei, where I intend making a temporary base hospital and asylum for refugees.

The marines were not supplied for a fortnight's march, and they have been, unfortunately, cut off from all communications with Tientsin.

❀

The Boxers Last week the Viceroys who govern the five great provinces in the Yangste Valley assured our Government that they were determined and perfectly able to preserve order in their jurisdiction, and to protect both the lives and properties of all foreigners. Nevertheless, the fact that the Chinese merchants of Shanghai have been realizing on their effects in specie, and that they are now deserting the city in large numbers and going into the interior, would indicate that at last the news of the Boxer rebellion had reached the interior, and that a national uprising may be feared. It is urged, therefore, that the force at the forts

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at Wusung should be seized by the international forces, in view of possible eventualities. If not in the Yangste Valley, certainly in other parts of China the Boxers seem now to have gone wholly beyond the control of the Chinese troops; indeed, the reports are confirmed that thousands of Chinese soldiers have openly gone over to the Boxers. The latter have worked themselves up to a frenzy, and are clamoring for the immediate stamping out of Christianity and for death to all foreigners. At this juncture that aged and astute statesman, Li Hung Chang, addressed a communication to our State Department giving his assurance that the firing on the foreign fleets at Taku was not authorized by the Chinese Government. He desires authority from the United States and from the other Powers to proceed from Canton to Peking for the purpose of putting an end to the disturbances there. If he would actually use his great influence both with the court and with the people, his purpose might have a certain promise of success. At all events, it is believed that the Powers will assent to his proposition, if they have not already done so. Li Hung Chang has also telegraphed to the various Chinese legations directing them to inform the Governments to which they are accredited that he is called to Peking by the Dowager Empress to act as an intermediary between China and the Powers. He declares that he will negotiate a settlement of the points at issue, and he instructs each Chinese legation to beg the Powers to facilitate the mission by ceasing to send troops to China. Our Government, however, has refused the request of Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese Minister at Washington, for an armistice in the operation of American troops until Li Hung Chang could reach Peking. President McKinley's decision was that the United States could not bind itself not to send its forces to points where disorder actually existed, and where the safety of American officials and citizens was imperiled.

❀

American Action Last week the War Department urged General MacArthur to surmount, if possible, the obstacles caused by the typhoon which had delayed the departure of the Ninth Infantry from Manila for Taku, and also to despatch a battery of artillery to Tientsin with the utmost haste. Simultaneously the Navy Department began active preparation for future movements. The cablegram from Admiral Kempff concerning the destruction of the American Consulate and the bombardment of Tientsin convinced our Government that the Boxers are not our only enemies in China, but, now that large guns are being used, the Imperial troops, who alone are familiar with artillery, must be actively engaged in warfare against all foreigners. As the most deficient military arm in the international force in China is that of artillery, the chief anxiety at the War Department is concerning the promptness with which artillery from Manila can be landed at Taku. Our war vessels there at present are the Newark, Monocacy, and Solace; the Iris, the Oregon, and the Brooklyn are on their way thither, and the Nashville has arrived at Chifu, where she landed thirty-three American missionaries from Peitaiho, a Chinese summer resort on the Gulf of Pechili, endangered by the Boxers. Admiral Remey's determination to carry some of the troops on his flagship, the Brooklyn, from Manila to Taku, shows the emergency of the situation. Our force now being put in readiness for China consists of five thousand men—a disproportionate number to the forces of other Powers, in the total of a hundred thousand men required. Our interests in China have not been fully appreciated by our own people; they have never realized that in Protestant mission work there we stand first, that in China's foreign trade we are second only to Great Britain, and that, as to foreign population in China, there are more American residents in the Flowery Kingdom than any other class of foreigners except British and Japanese. The duty of the United States Government is to protect American life and property in China, and, if necessary for that end, to fight the insurgents. While we have no other duty and purpose, it is not too much to say that our Government holds the key to the whole situation, because the United States is the only one of the Great Powers in China not suspected of land-grabbing motives. The two Powers chiefly interested, however, are Great Britain and Russia, the first by reason of trade, the second because of territorial propinquity.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Count Muraviev Last week Count Muraviev, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, died suddenly, and at a time when his services to his country could seemingly least be spared. His family, one of the most influential in Russian aristocracy, has long been of importance in the world of politics. It was General Nicolas Muraviev, grandfather of Count Muraviev, to whom Russia is indebted for the acquisition of most of Siberia. After General Muraviev had conquered the important Amur province, he became Governor-General of Siberia, and forty years ago, after the departure of Commodore Perry from Japan, obtained from that country a treaty based on the same lines as that previously secured by the United States. Count Muraviev's father was Governor of the Baltic provinces of Russia, and his cousin has been Minister of Justice in the Russian Cabinet; as such, the latter was the State Prosecutor of the Nihilists who were charged with the assassination of Alexander II. Count Muraviev had thus distinguished traditions behind him when he entered the Russian diplomatic service, and he lived up to them. He was first attached to the Russian Embassy at Berlin, then at Stockholm, then at The Hague, and then at Paris. Fifteen years ago he returned to Berlin, having by that time risen to the title of Councilor of State. Seven years ago he was appointed Minister to Denmark, and three years ago became Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs. His later appointments were believed to be largely due to the influence of the Empress Dowager, and in opposition to the wishes of William II. At all events, Count Muraviev was a Francophile, and in him the Franco-Russian alliance found a bulwark. His personal sympathies, however, did not prevent his fulfillment of the arduous duties of a Minister of Foreign Affairs with quite as much conspicuous success as has attended any of his distinguished predecessors. The most notable event of his Ministry was the issuance, nearly two years ago, of a circular invitation from the Czar to a peace conference. Count Muraviev's success in this endeavor, with the origination of which he had much to do, was universally recognized, and elicited from the Emperor the publication of a eulogistic rescript acknowledging his high services. Other notable achievements of Count Muraviev's Ministry were the conclusion of understandings with the British and Japanese Governments relative to Russian interests in China, the securing of an ice-free outlet to the sea at Port Arthur, and concessions for Russian railways to run across Manchuria and Mongolia on such terms as will inevitably bring all northern China under Russian influence.

❀

The Boer War The principal event of last week in the neighborhood of Pretoria was a victory won by the British under Lord Roberts over the Boers under General Botha at Pinnear River, twelve miles northeast of the capital. The burghers were completely repulsed. The fact that a deputation from Pietersburg, in northern Transvaal, has approached Lord Roberts with an invitation to send a force to receive the submission of the town, is regarded by the British as extremely important and significant, for Pietersburg is far removed from the seat of warfare. Turning to southern Transvaal, we note that General Hunter's division is now passing through Johannesburg towards Heidelberg, an important town and center of Boer activity. A north and south line between Heidelberg and Pretoria shows Johannesburg on that line and equidistant from the two points. General Hamilton has now definitely occupied Heidelberg, and General Broadwood's cavalry are skirmishing and dispersing the Boers. In the Orange River Colony the most noteworthy event of the week seems to have been the capture of a train bearing an accumulation of three weeks' letters for Lord Roberts's troops. In northern Cape Colony the Boer rebellion has been extinguished, according to information from General Warren. On Tuesday night of this week a farewell demonstration was given at Cooper Union, New York City, to the Boer envoys. Mr. Fischer, one of them, announced before the meeting that, as to present conditions in South Africa, the fears entertained by the envoys have been realized, but that the war is not yet over by any means, "nor does the taking of a few towns by the vast British army mean surrender." He thinks that there will be no exodus of Boers from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the country; that they will stay where they are and bide their time. He adds: "The reported attempt to reduce the republics to crown colonies proves the falsity of the boast on the part of England of equal rights to all. . . . We are asking only for the moral support and sympathy of the Powers, and it is a great pity that a great Nation like the United States would not say the word, 'Stop the war.' If it did, the other Great Powers would follow immediately." In this connection it is interesting to note that a committee to advocate the independence of the Boers has been formed in Paris, and last week issued a manifesto signed by forty French Senators and Deputies, including eight ex-Ministers. The manifesto urges a union of all similar committees which exist in Russia, America, Germany, Holland, and even in England, with the view to a combined effort to bring about peace and to prevent the destruction of the two republics. Referring to the United States, the manifesto says:

It appears to us impossible that the great American Republic, forgetful of its origin, will remain until the end indifferent in the face of a conflict in every way identical with that to which she owes her own existence, and from which she was only able to emerge thanks to the sympathies and support of Europe.

❀

The Philippine Campaign Public attention has been so occupied the past week with the important and sensational situation in China that the really significant recent events in the Philippines have made less impression than would be the case under other circumstances. In the first place, while it is true, as has been repeatedly asserted, that the insurgents in Luzon are not organized in large forces, still the despatches of the week tell of two engagements which in extent are by no means insignificant—indeed, in one the American loss was larger than it has been in any single engagement for many months. This fight took place on June 14 in Mindanao, an island inferior in size and importance only to Luzon. A detachment of American troops reconnoitering from Cagayan found the insurgents in a strong position in front, and were at the same time ambushed from the sides. The Americans lost, according to General MacArthur's official report, seven killed, one missing, and eleven wounded. Other reports say that nine were killed and twelve were wounded. On the same day came rumors that new outbreaks had occurred in the island of Samar, and troops were despatched to that island. The other engagement to which we have referred was reported under date of June 15; in this General Lucenas, an insurgent leader with three hundred men, occupied a strong position not far from Penaranda, in Luzon. General Funston attacked this force, found that they had thrown up intrenchments, and dispersed them only after repeated charges on the intrenchments; here only one American was killed, and the insurgents were in the end completely routed, but only after a sturdy resistance.

❀

Amnesty in the Philippines More important, however, than the military news of the week is the issuing, under the President's order, by General MacArthur of a formal offer of amnesty to all insurgents, of whatever grade, on the condition that they take the oath of allegiance to the United States and acknowledge its sovereignty. The only exceptions made are of those who have committed criminal acts or violated the laws of war. An offer of thirty pesos for each rifle surrendered is made in the proclamation. Some of the Filipino leaders now in Manila think that this offer will be followed by the surrender of Aguinaldo, but that event has as yet not occurred. Meetings of the Filipino leaders in Manila—including some prisoners of war, who were allowed to attend, and several former insurgent leaders, like Buencamino, who have voluntarily surrendered—resulted in the formulating of a series of propositions which were submitted to General MacArthur as an overture toward a satisfactory agreement upon which peace might be based. The seven propositions (which were said by the Conference to be subject to Aguinaldo's approval) were as follows:

First, a general amnesty by both the Americans and Filipinos; second, the return of confiscated property; third, the providing of offices for Filipino general officers in the new militia; fourth, the use of sufficient revenue of the islands to relieve the distress of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

impoverished people; fifth, a guarantee of personal rights according to the American Constitution; sixth, the establishment of civil government at Manila and in the provinces; and, seventh, the expulsion of the friars.

General MacArthur received the propositions, and in one cable account is said to have accepted them, which means probably that he simply took them under consideration. A later account states that he has intimated that the expulsion of the friars was an impossibility, but that the other conditions were reasonable, except that the right to carry arms and the right to trial by jury could not be granted at once. Another meeting of the Filipino leaders is to be held on July 4, under the direction of Señor Paterno, who was formerly a member of Aguinaldo's Cabinet. Señor Mabini, who is thought by many to be the ablest of the advocates of independence, does not appear to have taken part in these negotiations, but this may be because of his illness which has been reported. Throughout the Philippines the wet season has now set in seriously, and there will be little more active campaigning through the summer.

❀

Taxation in Spain During the past two months there has been an increasing agitation throughout the Spanish province of Catalonia regarding taxation. Repeated demonstrations have taken place, such as a general closing of shops and factories for one day—a silent but more effectual protest than the meetings of angry mobs. The Government has as repeatedly declared, however, that it is unable to modify or diminish the severity of taxation without injury to national interests and without endangering national security. As a matter of fact, although the new pressure of taxation in Spain, resulting from the recent war and its losses, is hard to bear, it is not appreciably greater than that habitually sustained by the French. The continuance of the agitation, however, induced the Government to send a war-ship to Barcelona, the great Catalonian port, to overawe the agitators. The capital itself last week gave evidence of the widespread character of present feeling when a Spanish citizen refused to pay taxes although taken before a military tribunal and into the presence of the Queen Regent herself. The general situation is peculiarly trying for the poor people of Spain, who justly feel that they are oppressed. So long as Spain held colonies, it seemed expedient to levy an export duty of ten per cent., and even after the colonies were lost the Spaniards supposed that they would continue to have a large export trade with them. Events have not justified this supposition, and a heavy duty prevents the development of foreign trade. It is naturally in Barcelona and other industrial centers suffering from the closing of colonial markets that the people are most opposed to the Government policy of collecting thirty-five times as much for interest on State bonds, for the civil list, for public worship, and for the army and navy, as the amount devoted to public works, education, and the like. As Catalonia has always been restive and largely republican, its feeling being only accentuated by the short-sighted prohibition of the use of the Catalan language in the public schools and the singing of Catalan songs, it would not be surprising if the present agitation ultimately resulted at least in fiscal autonomy there, similar to that prevailing in the Basque provinces of Spain.

❀

The Gold Standard in India The financial course taken by the Government of India in the past seven years and the result of its policy are interestingly summarized in a report prepared by Mr. R. F. Patterson, our Consul at Calcutta. In 1893 the mints of India, which had previously been open to the free coinage of silver, were closed, except to such coinage as was required by the Government to supply the currency for the business of the country; and since that time the exchange value of the rupee has fluctuated greatly, although it has been the policy of the Government to establish its fixed value at 1s. 4d. (32 cents), which has now practically been accomplished. The objections made to stereotyping the rupee at 1s. 4d. were: (1) the normal value of trade required a rupee at a lower sterling value; (2) a rupee appreciated to 1s. 4d. would check exports, and especially would exercise an evil influence on the opium trade with China—a silver-currency country; (3) ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

porters contended that it was the interest of the producers to get as many rupees as possible for their products, no matter how much they depreciated, rather than take a smaller amount, on a parity with gold, though intrinsically worth more. There is no reference in Mr. Patterson's report to the effect of demonetization in making currency scarcer, to the injury of debtors, or in depressing the value of silver in which the people of India had hoarded their savings. The result of the Government's policy, carried out under adverse conditions—the plague and the famine—was that (1) the import trade completely recovered from its depression; but Mr. Patterson admits that some part of its increase is due to fresh capital coming out to India, and the imports of gold in sovereigns from Australia and in yen from Japan; (2) there was a serious decline in the export of wheat and of rice, owing to their being required for the famine districts of India. Nevertheless, in spite of this, the decline in the whole volume of the exports is a very small fraction. Statistics for opium do not support the allegation that the enhancement of the rupee and the fall in the exchange of China on India would check the opium trade. The demand has been brisker and the average price higher the past year. The whole volume of foreign trade has advanced steadily, and now exceeds $575,000,000 in value. It was urged, in opposition to the measure passed last September to make gold a legal tender, that gold would be hoarded and would fail to reach the Government depositories, so that its gradual accumulation would be arrested, and the Government would be driven into borrowing for its stock of gold; but the measure was passed, and the result is known. Instead of gold ceasing to reach the Government depositories, Mr. Patterson declares that they have been nearly swamped with it, and that difficulty has arisen from its plethora, not from its scarcity—the amount of currency reserve in April, 1899, being about $10,000,000, and in March, 1900, nearly $40,000,000. As India has become a gold-standard, so it will gradually become a gold-currency, country. The exchange value of the rupee is fixed at the rate of fifteen rupees to the sovereign ($4.86). Now that India is out of the list of silver-standard countries, any decision on the fiscal policy of other countries must be influenced thereby, for her absorption of silver has greatly decreased.

❀

At the Colleges Among the most interesting events of last week in the academic world was the announcement by President Faunce, of Brown University, that the million dollars which he set out to raise as an additional endowment of the institution when he accepted the presidency had been raised, with a considerable margin; this margin is so large that it will probably serve as a basis for the endeavor to raise another considerable sum. Dr. Faunce has already more than justified the expectations of those who believed that his acceptance of the presidency of Brown University would mark a new period of prosperity and growth in the history of that influential college. At Yale on Sunday President Hadley delivered a baccalaureate address in place of a baccalaureate sermon—an innovation of form rather than of substance, for the address was inspiring in religious as well as in educational counsel. The retirement of Mrs. Elizabeth Storrs Mead from the presidency of Mount Holyoke College, after a service of ten years, ends one of the most important decades in the history of the institution. When the main college building was burned a few years ago, many of its friends feared that it had received a fatal blow. That fire was, however, a great piece of good fortune, and the hill is now crowned by a large group of substantial and handsome structures which amply house all the operations of the College. Announcements of considerable additional gifts were made on Commencement Day. At Smith College a class of two hundred and twenty-five was graduated, the largest class ever sent out from a woman's college in America. When Smith celebrates the completion of its first quarter of a century, early in October next, it will have an astonishing record of growth and development to report—a growth in many respects, probably, second to none in the whole history of American education. The foundation for the new students' building has made such progress that the corner-stone of the structure may be laid during the coming year. President Seelye has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suggested, however, that the students should unite with the College in erecting a building large enough, not only to meet all their needs as students, but to supply a great Assembly Hall. At present the College has no hall capable of seating half the people who wish to attend the Commencement exercises.

❀

The University of London

Another disability, though not a grave one, has been lifted from the Free Churchmen of England. Until now none of them, however worthy, could get the degree of Doctor of Divinity except by going out of the country for it, *honoris causa*, as to Scotland or America. When the abolition of religious tests in the universities threw Oxford and Cambridge open to Free Churchmen half a century since, it was with the reservation that degrees in divinity should still be for members of the Church of England only. Consequently such degrees have been as rare in England, outside of that close preserve, as they are abundant in our too generous land. All this is now changed, and that in a way which is a clear improvement upon our own. Henceforth, anybody from anywhere will be able to get the degree in England upon showing to a board of strict examiners that he has the proper qualifications in competent theological learning. This changed condition results from the new statutes of the University of London, to which the royal assent is about to give the force of law. Hitherto the University has been an examining body only, conferring degrees to which its high standards gave the highest value, even in comparison with those of Oxford and Cambridge. Henceforth it is to be also a teaching body, with the proper faculties of a university, and the first of these is the Faculty of Theology. The most interesting thing in this is its comprehensiveness, as contrasted with the exclusiveness of the old universities. Of its eight members three are Episcopalians and five are Free Churchmen, among whom Professors Beet and Cave are best known in this country. The examinations which the University will hold for bachelors and doctors in divinity are both "external" and "internal"—the former for all comers, the latter for students in the seven theological schools now affiliated with the University. Five of these belong to the Free Churches, viz., Hackney College, New College, Cheshunt College, Regents' Park College, and the Wesleyan College at Richmond; two are Anglican, viz., St. John's Hall at Highbury, and the Divinity School of King's College. Not long ago a competent English critic pronounced theological education better developed here than in England. The great advance since made is signalized by the new connection of these theological schools with such an institution as the University of London, and the conditioning of theological degrees upon its stiff examinations.

❀

Andover Theological Seminary

The discussion at Andover Theological Seminary respecting possible changes either in its dogmatic basis or its location, or both, raises an interesting and a perplexing question. Since Andover Seminary was founded, radical changes in sentiment and civilization have done much to abolish both theological and geographical distances. No one cares any longer for the fine distinction between "Taylorism" and "Tylerism," in which clergy and laity were alike interested at the time when Yale Theological Seminary and New Windsor (now Hartford Theological Seminary) were not only rival institutions, but representatives of hostile schemes of theology. The student to-day, considering whether he will go to New Haven, Hartford, Andover, or Bangor, is not estopped in his choice by any consideration of *odium theologicum*. Nor is he greatly affected by expense of travel. One seminary in New England would be amply adequate to provide for all the Congregational needs of New England and eastern New York, while all west of central New York would find supply in the seminary at Oberlin, or, in the further West, at Chicago. Moreover, the tendency of our time is to bring all post-graduate and professional education of every kind either to university towns or to the great cities. These combined considerations would make it very difficult, if not impossible, permanently to maintain a Congregational Theological Seminary at Andover hereafter, even if they were not still further enhanced by an antiquated and impossible creed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We can well understand the sentiments of deep affection which make those who have ever been connected with Andover Seminary deprecate any abandonment of its historic site, or any merging of it in another institution; and to a less degree similar sentiments will constitute an obstacle to the proposed removal of Bangor Theological Seminary; but we are persuaded that sooner or later these sentiments must yield to the practical considerations of economy and efficiency, and Andover must either move to Boston or Cambridge, and continue its life there under changed conditions, or look forward to the time when whatever is left of its endowment must be united with that of some other theological seminary, where the work so splendidly done at Andover in the past can be continued in a different organization.

❀

The Twentieth Century Fund

The resources of our Boards of Foreign Missions have been derived from two sources, the gifts of the living and the bequests of the dead. The latter have always been variable in quantity, and of late years have shown a decided tendency to decrease. In our judgment, this tendency will not easily be stopped, and certainly there will be no reaction. It is partly due to the fact that men are now more inclined to give while living than they once were—an inclination enhanced by the inheritance tax; partly due to the fact that other causes claim successfully the large bequests from the dying which formerly went exclusively into church work. In order to meet this exigency of our times and at once to supplement and to equalize the gifts from legacies, Mr. Capen, the President of the American Board, has proposed to raise a fund, to be called the Twentieth Century Fund, of $250,000. This he would treat as a permanent legacy fund, adding to it the legacies of each year, and spending each year one-third only of the total. The practical working of this plan he describes as follows:

> To prevent all misunderstanding and make entirely clear the proposed plan in its practical working, let us suppose we had no debt; that the $250,000 was in the fund to-day, and that the current receipts from legacies for this fiscal year were $100,000. This would make the total $350,000, and spending one-third, or $117,000, would leave the fund $233,000 for next year. Suppose the legacy receipts for 1901 were 150,000, the total would then be $383,000. Spending one-third, or $128,000, would leave $255,000 to carry forward. Suppose now the legacies fall again in 1902 to $100,000; the fund would stand at $355,000, one-third spent would be $118,000, and $237,000 would be carried forward. If in 1903 the receipts were $125,000, the fund would be $362,000; spending one-third, or $121,000, the fund would remain with which to begin 1904 as $241,000. These figures do not take account of accrued interest on the fund; with this added, the fund would be over $250,000 January 1, 1904. In other words, while the legacies would have varied $50,000 from highest to lowest, yet, because of the fund, the amount available for each year has varied only $11,000 from highest to lowest, and the fund is intact at the end of the period.

The plan seems to us an admirable one. It has been adopted heartily and unanimously by the Prudential Committee, and we recommend those who are interested in it to write to the Treasurer of the American Board for fuller information respecting it.

❀

Arctic Missions

Another missionary has paralleled the achievement of the famous winter ride of Dr. Whitman in 1842 across the Rocky Mountains, which saved Oregon to the Union. The Rev. Loyal L. Wirt, Superintendent of Congregational Missions in Alaska, traveled by dog-team and snow-shoes from Cape Nome, twelve hundred and fifty miles, in the depth of the Arctic winter, over the frozen sea and across the wilderness of the Yukon, to get the reinforcements needed for the next winter in hand before it should be too late. Instead of the few thousands who wintered there last season will be many thousands next season. Embryo cities of miners are springing up at Cape York, Port Clarence, Cinrook, Port Safety, Council City, Golovin Bay, within a hundred miles north and east of Cape Nome, where a little church, hospital, and public reading-room were opened last autumn. These institutions were doing effective work last January, when Mr. Wirt realized their ineffectiveness to meet the needs of the coming multitudes. With only three thousand people at Nome, their hospital was taxed to the uttermost. With forty thousand and amid inevitable unsanitary conditions, they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would be swamped in an epidemic of typhoid. But waiting for summer before organizing supplies meant failure. The season of open navigation, four months, is too short to start out from Bering Sea, present the case in the States, collect supplies, and return full-handed before the early freezing up. The only efficient course was to set out at once, get to headquarters early, secure a hundred more beds, with physicians and nurses, for the enlargement of the Nome hospital, still others for the four or five new towns that will have from two to ten thousand people each, and get them on the road in time to reach the coast before the ice barriers form again. In this emergency, involving hundreds of lives, there was no one to send on the hazardous errand. So Mr. Wirt, encouraged by his brave wife, undertook it himself, in spite of dire predictions. Leaving her and her little children at Cape Nome, he "went out over the ice" and got through in fifty-three days. Though sometimes sleeping in snow-banks, sharing with Indians their diet of fish and berries, his knees swollen from two weeks' continuous snow-shoeing, and finally after four days of extreme peril in the rough seas of Helikof Strait, which he crossed in an Indian kayak, he arrived none the worse for such exposure and suffering. The best present honor for this brave missionary is to help the benevolent work for which he risked and endured so much.

❀

Presbyterian Assembly of Canada

A very hopeful note was sounded at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, which adjourned at Halifax, N. S., last week. The annual sermon by the Moderator, the Rev. Dr. Campbell, of Renfrew, Ont., on Psalm lxvi., 5, was optimistic in tone, and looked for the ultimate triumph of righteousness in the world through the indwelling, active presence of God. To hasten this day, certain duties were urged upon the Church, among which was a greater practic l interest in the social, economic, and business life of to-day. The statistical reports by the Rev. Dr. Torrence, of Guelph, announced an increase of 10,118 in the membership, and financial receipts of $2,384,897 for all purposes, or an increase of $114,241 outside of the century fund. Concerning this special fund, subscriptions of $709,383 were reported by the agent in charge, so that the one million mark is more than assured. The report on Church Life and Work by the Rev. D. D. McLeod, of Barrie, Ont., was more satisfactory than for several years, and indicated greater activity and earnestness on the part of the membership. The Sunday-School department also showed a gratifying increase, and the Young People's Societies a noticeable falling off. Concerning the latter fact, the Assembly placed on record its appreciation of the good service which has been given by the Society of Christian Endeavor and kindred organizations, and urged upon the Church a deeper interest in the work of the young people. The reports on education, home and foreign missions, were full of hope and cheer, and indicated more than usual prosperity in these varied departments of service. On matters of a public character the Assembly was not so fruitful as might have been expected, but this was probably due to the many questions concerning the Church which occupied careful and prolonged discussions. Several topics of general interest, however, were before the gathering, among which was the study of the Bible in the schools. This was commended by resolutions, though it may be added that upon this all other denominations are not agreed. The subject of Sunday Observance was also introduced by Principal Caven, of Toronto, who believes that Canada now confronts a grave crisis by reason of the many and varied encroachments which are made upon the day of rest. Altogether the Assembly was one of the best in its history, and formed a very fitting conclusion to the gatherings of the century.

❀

Augustus Lowell

In the death of Augustus Lowell, of Boston, that city, and indeed the whole country, has lost a man whose public service as an educator has been none the less because so quietly exerted. We do not recall any other case of a trust reposed, as the Lowell bequest was, in a single trustee; and that the Lowell Institute Lectures have won a more than National reputation and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

influence has been largely due to the fidelity and the wisdom with which Mr. Augustus Lowell has administered this unique trust. We have seen no public statement as to his successor.

❀

Lord Salisbury and the Missionaries

Last week the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts held its bicentenary celebration in London. Two American bishops took part in the proceedings, and won golden opinions for their wit, fire, and force. Commenting on Bishop Doane's and Bishop Dudley's speeches, the "Westminster Gazette" says: "One felt that our English speakers simply were 'not in it,' and the rest of the speeches fell rather flat in consequence. The Americans had something to say and knew how to say it in the most perfect form. Primate and Premier leaned back in their chairs and laughed delightedly at this unexpected outburst of American forensic power." On the other hand, our bishops certainly were "not in it," as to cynicism, alongside Lord Salisbury. The noble Marquis took as his text the Oriental proverb, "First missionary, then consul, then general." He warned missionaries against fostering the idea, not unnaturally current, especially in China, that religious and missionary work was a mere instrument of the secular government. He called attention to the days when the murder of a dozen missionaries caused no single pang. "They earned their martyrs' crown, while England's Foreign Office looked another way." Lord Salisbury's hearers, his clerical allies, and missionaries generally, find his remarks unpalatable. They retort that it is not so much the missionaries who have changed as the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, who, in their craving for lands, leases, and usufructs, exploit even the preacher of the Gospel. Other critics add that if those called of God to preach the Gospel had always followed such counsels of prudence and moderation, the development of both Christianity and civilization would have been sadly delayed. Reference is appropriately made to China. At the beginning of this century Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, applied to the British Government for permission to proceed to that country. The Government refused. Nothing daunted, Morrison sailed for New York, and there secured passage on an American vessel bound for Canton. The story is told that when the missionary had divulged the object of his journey at the shipping office, one of the clerks remarked cynically, "And so you really expect to make an impression on Chinese idolatry!" "No, sir," sternly replied Morrison, "but I expect God will."

❀

Overcrowding in London

The problem of sanitary dwellings for the poor, which Lord Salisbury a dozen years ago declared to be for England of the foremost urgency, is still as grave as ever. The recent debate in the House of Commons on a Government bill for the housing of the working classes revealed a very bad state of things, notwithstanding all that has been done. The London County Council, under the Act of 1890, has rehoused 8,928 persons, displacing 16,615, but meantime London rents have doubled, with a fearful strain upon workingmen's means. The statistics produced in the debate showed 900,000 persons living in an illegally crowded condition. In Camberwell, on the south side of the Thames, seventeen persons were found living and sleeping in one room. In the East End beds were let out to three sets of occupants daily, for eight hours each. The Public Health Acts forbid this; but it was said, "Of what use is it to eject from houses those whose only other sleeping-place is the Thames Embankment under the open sky?" Meanwhile the death-rate from contagious diseases, like scarlet fever, measles, and diphtheria, has risen alarmingly, in diphtheria especially having gone up in the last thirty years from 101 and 160 to 207 per 1,000. The bill by which the Government proposed to better these conditions presented no thoroughgoing remedy. It merely authorized a County Council to provide workingmen's houses outside of its own district—it being found impossible to rehouse in London, so long as slum property has to be bought up on the greedy owners' terms. Conservatives and Radicals alike criticised the bill as ineffective because of failure to provide for condemnation of slum property on just terms, and also to provide for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the cheap transportation of the laborers whose rehousing in the suburbs it contemplated. Meanwhile the expense to the taxpayers of hospitals and other reliefs for the victims of overcrowding is said to be three or four times the cost of sanitary rehousing—$650,000 a year.

❀

The Seger Colony An encouraging and instructive object-lesson in the treatment of the Indian problem is furnished by the Seger Colony in Oklahoma, of which we condense an account from a recent narrative in the "Southern Workman," of Hampton, Virginia. It was formed in 1886 of the most unpromising material—a camp of young Indian rowdies, the plague of the Agency among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, who in President Grant's time were among the wildest and most troublesome of the tribes. Mr. John H. Seger, of Kansas, had been since 1873 in the service of the Agency as farmer, and the successful manager of the manual labor school opened by the Friends' Mission. Such ascendency had he gained by moral force of character that he succeeded in persuading these pests of the Agency to form a colony, under a constitution and by-laws which pledged every member to industry, temperance, abstinence from gambling, and obedience to the United States Government. Every Indian signed it, and off they all went under his lead to a location in what is now Oklahoma, fifty-five miles from the Agency. In 1888 they had forty-six farms, cultivating 375 acres. In 1890 they almost alone stood out against the wide delusion of the coming Indian Messiah, and kept on cultivating their wheat. In 1892 came the inrush of twenty-five thousand white settlers in a day into the new territory, but they stood it well, and became the first subjects of the "severalty and citizenship" act. The colony then contained six hundred Indian allotments scattered over an area of 35 × 27 miles, mostly in the valley of the Washita. It is still advancing in prosperity under Mr. Seger, who is also the superintendent of the Government Industrial Boarding-School, which, with its kindergarten, takes in all the children of the colony, about 120. The young farmers, mechanics, and housewives there trained compete with their white neighbors in the Oklahoma district fairs, and win occasional premiums and prizes. Now a stone church and parsonage stand there, in charge of a Choctaw Indian educated at Union College and Union Theological Seminary, the Rev. F. H. Wright. This story of how one man has solved the Indian problem by sagacity and perseverance on the line of good will and common sense may inspire emulation of his example.

❀

The Swiss "Homes" Travelers in Europe have often acknowledged the pleasure and profit experienced in finding an English church in nearly every town. Those tourists who are interested in social improvement are now beginning to notice that a Swiss "Home" is to be found, not only in all the cities of Switzerland, but also in the principal cities of the Continent. In addition to those previously published, the reports from the "Homes" in Milan, Budapest, Vienna, Bukarest, Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow, and St. Petersburg appear in a recent number of the Neuchâtel "Journal du Bien Public," and they are interesting reading. They indicate what the Swiss women are doing for their compatriots abroad. The "Homes" supply escorts to and from railway stations or from places of work, lodging and lunching places, an employment bureau, and a meeting-ground for social and religious gatherings. Material aid is given to young girls who must be helped in their wish to find work or to better the conditions of work already found; a large proportion of Swiss women abroad gain their living as maids, nurses, governesses, teachers, and companions. Nor are those forgotten who, by their own fault or by their misfortune, are in embarrassing circumstances. These necessities met, the Swiss institutions are specially intended for those who need a real home. Hence our English word (than which no word in any language is more expressive) has been adopted, and each institution is known as a "Home Suisse." Another aim of the Swiss Homes is gradually to found Houses of Retreat for women who may have worked all their lives without having had opportunity to save enough to assure necessary comforts when age and infirmity prevent longer labor. It is a satisfaction

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to learn that the quiet influence of these Homes is growing from day to day. The utility of the endeavor in both material and moral aspects is so universally recognized that the Homes have long since been opened to all women, without distinction of nationality or religion. For instance, among the eleven hundred women who made a more or less prolonged sojourn last year at the Vienna "Home," half the number were Swiss; then came French, Germans, English, Austrians, and Russians. Those who wish to inform themselves further concerning this noble endeavor should address the "Association de Femmes Suisses pour l'Œuvre du Relèvement Moral," Rue du Musée, 5, Neuchâtel, Switzerland. This Association maintains cordial relations with the similar work in New York City, the "Home pour Jeunes Filles" at 341 West Thirtieth Street.

❀

Unitarianism in Hungary The recent Unitarian Conference in Boston has drawn attention to the fact that Unitarianism is more widespread over the world than is popularly supposed. The oldest existing group of Unitarian churches is in Hungary, and is more than three hundred years old. In 1568 the Unitarian faith was recognized as one of the four legalized religions of the province of Transylvania, the extreme easterly portion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the other religions being the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist. As might be expected, of these four, the Unitarians, although their numbers are very small, have always taken the lead in educational advance. The head of the Unitarian churches of Hungary is Bishop Joseph Ferencz, the only Unitarian Bishop in the world. The first Unitarian Bishop of Hungary was Francis Dávid, the hero and martyr, who was converted from Roman Catholicism. So great was his influence that much of Transylvanian religious complexion was changed by it, no less than four hundred preachers becoming Unitarian. The delegate from Hungary to the Boston Conference was Professor György (George) Boros, dean of the Theological College at Kolozsvár. Professor Boros is also editor of the monthly magazine published by the Hungarian Unitarian Church—the "Unitárius Közlöng" (Unitarian Recorder).

❀

The Republican Convention

Republicans who think that the Republican party can do no wrong, and Democrats who think it can never do right, will read the proceedings and platform of the late Republican Convention in Philadelphia, the one to applaud, the other to condemn. But the independent voter, whether his traditional sympathies are with the one party or with the other, will not give a blank power of attorney to any political organization, but will ask himself seriously the question what the attitude of the party is on present questions, and what its most recent action indicates as to the future, in case it should be intrusted with the control of the Government. It is to such independent voters that The Outlook is always addressed; it is for their special benefit that we have secured two reports of the Republican Convention, one from the Republican, the other from the Democratic, point of view; and it is to such voters that this endeavor to add some editorial interpretation of its action is addressed. The question whether a particular party should be intrusted with the government at any particular issue in a nation's history is to be answered by the independent voter after a consideration of three questions: What is the personnel of the party? What are its avowed principles as interpreted by its platform and its past conduct? and, What are the tendencies which, consciously or unconsciously, it represents and by which it is really though not always purposely dominated? Let us consider these questions separately.

I. Although Mr. McKinley was not in evidence in the Convention, it is clear that his counsels were sought and his advice followed. His influence dominated the assembly because his influence dominates the party. Popular sentiment recognizes this fact in the current use of the phrase "McKinleyism." He is far more representative of his party than was Cleveland in 1888 or Grant in 1872. Whether he is the leader of his party many

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will question; but that he impersonates its political spirit and is the natural choice of those who make up its constituency cannot be seriously doubted by friend or foe. He has sometimes been antagonized by jealous rivals; he has sometimes made concessions to men whose political influence is greater than their popular power; but, on the whole, there can be no serious question that the last four years has been Mr. McKinley's administration, and that, if he is elected, the next four years will be so to an even greater degree. The triumph of the Republican party will mean the election of Mr. McKinley, not of a concealed power behind the Presidential chair. And if he is elected, it will be because he truly represents the spirit and temper as well as the opinions and purposes of the party which elects him. What sort of a man, then, is Mr. McKinley?

His characteristic quality is caution. He is not a brilliant man; is not given to experiments; possesses no dash; is totally lacking in dramatic qualities; as a speaker is without magnetism; as an executive is never rash and not often bold. He rarely decides a question until the time for decisive action has arrived, and therefore rarely decides it twice; he moves slowly, but does not move backward; his policy may be criticised as hesitating and halting, but it is not vacillating. No President since Lincoln has had so many new and perplexing questions to meet, with so little of either past tradition or current elections to guide him; but, having once declared his mind, he has changed it in but one important instance, and in this case, that of the Porto Rican tariff, it is at least questionable whether he did not secure more substantial justice for the Porto Ricans by the change than he would have secured by persistently adhering to his first and, in our judgment, wiser opinion. He has shown in his larger appointments a remarkable knowledge of men; and though he has made some serious mistakes, notably in the case of Secretary Alger and in that of Judge Hazel, if reports may be credited, in both cases the mistakes were due rather to a too great readiness to accept the judgment of others than to the failure of his own judgment. He has carried his conscience with him into public life, a fact which history will recognize despite the intolerance of those who can never think that any man has a conscience if it does not agree with their own. The reformer will criticise Mr. McKinley because he has not always maintained the highest ideals; forgetting that the place which Mr. McKinley has been called to fill has not been that of a reformer, but that of a man of affairs, and that the man of affairs has often to take what he can when he cannot get what he would. In this place Mr. McKinley has shown that he knows how to conciliate and to influence, though not always when to do battle or how to control. He has surrounded himself with strong advisers, and has taken their advice; yet we think it is as certain that he dominates his Cabinet as it is that Lincoln dominated his, although by a different method. If he has not always led his party, he has never separated himself from it; and, unless we wholly misapprehend the secret of his political influence, it is due not primarily to his distribution of patronage, but primarily to the confidence he has inspired, both in the men who desire the triumph of the party for the sake of its principles, and in those who desire it for the sake of the spoils. Comparing Mr. McKinley with military men, he has not the qualities which in Sherman and Sheridan excited enthusiasm, but he has those which in Meade and Thomas created confidence. More reliance on his own judgment, more courage in following it, would make him a greater leader; yet it appears to us that in a President of the United States there is needed conscience rather than sentiment, caution rather than dash, and that to reckon too much on existing political forces and the leaders who represent them, though an error, is safer than to ignore one's party associates in following one's own self-will.

If Mr. McKinley represents the caution and conservatism of the Americans, Mr. Roosevelt represents their initiative, their energy, their aggressive courage; if Mr. McKinley wins the confidence of the cautious, Mr. Roosevelt arouses the enthusiasm of the bold. His nature is essentially chivalrous, and the popular esteem which finally forced on him a nomination despite his unfeigned reluctance is a valuable witness to the reality and the power of chivalry in this seem-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ingly commercial age. If any think that they can put him out of politics by putting him in the Vice-President's chair, they have failed to take account of the irrepressible vitality of the man. As Police Commissioner, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as Lieutenent-Colonel of the Rough Riders, even as Governor of the State of New York, he has been larger than the office which he occupied; the conventions of office have been instruments in his hands, not withes to bind him; and, if elected, it will be very strange if he does not exercise in the office of Vice-President a political influence unparalleled in the past history of that office.

Those who think or assume to think that his early and reiterated refusals to be considered as a candidate were coy declinations for political effect, either do not know the man or presume too much on popular ignorance; whatever faults Mr. Roosevelt may have, he is temperamentally incapable of insincerity. If any ask why, having so determinedly refused the nomination, he finally accepted it, the answer is that in all organizations, and pre-eminently in politics, the wise leader must often yield his own judgment to that of his associates. Self-will in resistance to a universal opinion is as fatal to political leadership as a too compliant surrender to the multitude.

II. The real platform of the Republican party is the political history of the country during the last four years. A party which is out may ask to be given power on the strength of promises to be fulfilled when it is in; but a party which is in has no other good ground on which to ask for a continuance of power than the use which it has made of power while in possession of it. The platform-makers at Philadelphia were wise to recognize this fact and to do what they have done, make a platform which assumes for the party the full responsibility for all that has been done by the Administration during the last four years, and which reaffirms, in language as explicit as is consistent with brevity, the principles which underlie that action. They were also wise to treat future questions in vague and general terms, acting in this matter on the principle of their candidate, and presumptively under his advice—never cross a bridge until you come to it. The one notable exception to this principle is in the brief but entirely explicit declaration concerning an interoceanic canal: "We favor the construction, ownership, and protection of an isthmian canal by the Government of the United States." It is scarcely necessary to add that The Outlook heartily indorses this declaration. There should be such a waterway between the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean; and it should not be hampered by any considerations of private ownership; it should be a public highway built by the United States, owned by the United States, and protected by the United States, though we believe that a treaty is a more efficient protection than a fortification.

On other questions the platform is more explicit in reaffirming the past action of the party than in indicating what its next action will be. It reaffirms the gold standard in language wholly unambiguous, but in very vague and almost meaningless terms holds out a promise of "such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be properly met." It uses terms which cannot be misunderstood in repudiating the notion, sedulously advocated in certain quarters, that a remedy for monopolies is to be found in a return to individualism and unrestricted competition; it approves "co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions," though it is silent as to combinations of labor, which are surely equally legitimate; but its condemnation of "all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices," and its promise to "favor such legislation as will effectually restrain this and prevent all such abuses," are only a pledge to continue an attempt which has been made in all Anglo-Saxon communities ever since the days of Blackstone, and with only very moderate success. It reaffirms a protective tariff, and, as interpreted by the past history of the party, reaffirms it as a permanent policy; the qualified approval of reciprocity in certain cases does not afford much promise of freer trade; and those who, like The Outlook, desire to see the tariff abolished wherever the protected article is sold in the world's market in competition with other countries, must look for the realization of their ideal to influences, within or without the Republican party, other

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than those which dominated this Convention. On the question of expansion, it puts our duty in the Philippines upon the ground on which The Outlook has always put it, "our responsibility before the world . . . to provide for the maintenance of law and order and for the establishment of good government;" and, while declaring that the pledge of independence made to Cuba shall be performed to the letter, it neither offers nor proposes to offer any similar terms to the Filipinos. In brief, passing by some important but minor declarations, the Republican platform may be summed up in the following words:

The gold standard.

The right of capital to combine, subject to governmental regulation of the combinations.

Permanent protective tariff.

An interoceanic canal.

The maintenance of our sovereignty in the Philippines.

To vote for Mr. McKinley, then, will be to vote:

1. To maintain the gold standard; to conform all the Nation's currency to that standard; definitely and finally to reject silver except as a subsidiary coinage, and paper except as a promise to pay gold.

2. To maintain the right of capitalists to form organizations for commercial and industrial purposes, subject to whatever governmental regulation may be necessary to prevent such organizations from being used to increase prices, reduce production, and create monopolies—provided any such legislation is practicable.

3. To maintain, probably permanently, a protective tariff, and so exclude foreign competition from interfering with the American market, with little hope of escape from this result from the forces dominant in this Convention.

4. To build, own, and protect an interoceanic canal which will unite the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, make the entire seacoast of America practically continuous, and bring New York nearer and New Orleans and Galveston very much nearer the Chinese market than Liverpool.

5. To maintain the authority of the United States over the Philippines, and probably eventually make of that archipelago an American dependency, related to the United States somewhat as Australia is to Great Britain.

6. And thus to promote, if not the commercial supremacy, at least the commercial prosperity, of the United States, and of all classes in the United States, though in unequal degree, and under the guidance, to a considerable extent, of men whose commercial spirit may involve moral peril to the Republic, if it is not counteracted by a vigorous conscience, an uncommercial standard of morals, and a vigorous, persistent, and invincible resolve to make that supremacy and prosperity serve, not an oligarchy of wealth, but the people and all the people, whether Americans or colonists, whether capitalists or laborers.

The question of unconscious tendencies we shall leave for future consideration. They can better be considered after the action of the Democratic Convention and in connection with a consideration of the unconscious tendencies in that party.

❀

The Dangerous Moment

There is no richer soil for sins against one's best self than the mood of discouragement. It is in times of depression that men and women, whose instincts are good, whose impulses are sound, and who mean to do right, fall before temptation. Moods of spiritual depression are precisely like moods of physical depression; when the tone of the system is lowered, germs of disease which are readily thrown off in health find a foothold and set in motion the most dangerous disorders. In vigorous health one can live with perfect impunity in conditions which become fatal when one is physically reduced. In like manner, when one's hopes are high and the outlook is fair, one easily repels temptations which have almost overwhelming force when one has lost confidence in himself and sees no hope ahead. In depression clear judgment is almost impossible; and the man who wishes to guide his life wisely will learn that, although he cannot at all times throw off depression, he can have such a knowledge of himself that he will not allow himself to decide important matters or take important steps when this mood is on him. When one is climbing a mountain and a sudden fog descends, it may not be possible to continue the ascent, but it is at least possible

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to hold one's position and not to go downward or to fall over dangerous cliffs. Depression is the devil's opportunity; the mood of discouragement is his ripest moment for mischief. Depression and discouragement in every form ought to be recognized as things to be struggled against; they are the open doors through which the worst evils come. Many a man on the verge of a worthy and enduring success has blighted his life hopelessly by wrecking his future in a passing mood of depression. There is but one safe rule, and that is always to hold ourselves spiritually at the highest valuation; to refuse to be cheapened, even in thought, by disasters, misfortunes, or apparent failures; to believe, with Browning, that "the worst turns to the best with the brave;" and to hold one's self something greater than the creature of circumstances, fortunate or unfortunate. The man and woman who set their faces toward an ultimate aim which is worthy of themselves can afford to disregard passing storms, the rising and falling of tides, cross-currents, or even the most appalling tempests.

❀

The Edwards Commemoration

The unveiling of the memorial tablet of Jonathan Edwards in the First Church of Northampton, Mass., on June 22, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his enforced retirement from its pastoral charge, was to meet the need of Northampton, not of Edwards. If true of any American, it is true of Edwards that he needs no monument; but Northampton has needed to attest her undoubted appreciation of her most illustrious citizen. As our countryman, Mr. Samuel Harden Church, in 1894, incited the successful movement for the placing of a bust of Cromwell at Westminster, so a British-American, Professor Gardiner, now of Smith College at Northampton, has been the prime mover towards the erection of the Edwards tablet, and some contributions toward the $2,000 which it cost also came from England. The tablet, designed and modeled by the sculptor Herbert Adams, exhibits the figure of Edwards in pulpit robes, and somewhat larger than life, standing behind a low screen which bears the inscription:

In Memory of
JONATHAN EDWARDS
Minister of Northampton from February 15, 1727, to June 22, 1750.

The Law of Truth was in his Mouth, and
Unrighteousness was not found in his Lips.
He Walked with Me in Peace and Uprightness,
And did turn many away. from iniquity.—Mal. ii., 6.

Mr. Charles Atwood Edwards, of this city, the great-great-grandson and oldest living descendant of Edwards, unveiled the tablet. Specially fitting to the occasion was the anthem composed for it by Professor Blodgett, of Smith College, upon St. Paul's grand doxology in Romans xi., 33–36, than which no words of Scripture correspond closer to Edwards's sublime conceptions. Three Presidents of Yale have lineally descended from Edwards—the elder Timothy Dwight in the third generation, Theodore Dwight Woolsey in the fourth, and the younger Timothy Dwight in the fifth. Dr. Woolsey, in a memorial address in 1870, drew with characteristic sententiousness the line which later criticism of Edwards has merely amplified, in saying, "He united the traits of Paul and John, and was under the sway of the theologies of both these Apostles." The differences between Edwards and his church, which led to his dismission, sanctioned as it was by a majority of one in the advisory council, made up a case often paralleled since in the experience of lesser men. The publicly professed repentance, ten years later, of his chief opponent, a lawyer of high standing, was his sufficient justification among his own contemporaries.

It is a curious and a significant fact that those principally active in this commemoration of Edwards are identified with the liberalizing tendency in theology. Sufficient reason for this was adduced by the late Professor Park, a strong conservative, in saying of Edwards: "He did adopt certain theories which are the germ of what is called 'the new theology;'" a fact abundantly justified by his best modern interpreters. Significant of the expansion of the theological horizon since his day was the presence and address, on this occasion, of Professor A. V. G. Allen, of the Episcopal Divinity School of Cambridge, Mass., whose life of Edwards is the best interpreter of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great theologian we know in literature. And yet Edwards was essentially Puritan in character and thought; and, as Professor Smyth, of Andover, observed, the strongly marked intellectual and ethical character which Edwards impressed upon New England preaching was "unbalanced by influences from long-established and familiar forms of ecclesiastical authority, or constant liturgical presentations of the objects of faith, and of sacred events in the life of our Lord, or the experiences of sainted men"—with an attending risk of "rationalism and moralism." Speaking for those not thus unbalanced, Professor Allen declared that the deepest affinity of Edwards was not with Calvin or Augustine, but with Dante. This was also affirmed by Dr. Gordon, of the Old South Church in Boston: "His affinities with Dante are very great, greater, it seems to me, than any other name; and as Dante lives, in spite of the masses of obsolete thought that are in him, Edwards will live, notwithstanding his error and imperfection, by the majesty of his appeal." The fact that the average man misconceives of Edwards as a lurid preacher of damnation Professor Allen attributed to the fact that "the tragedy of human life encompassed him as it encompassed Dante," and declared that "he was not really so great as a theologian as when viewed as a poetic interpreter of human life." Professor Smyth dwelt upon Edwards's "transcendent spiritual personality," the spiritual groundwork of an all-pervading consciousness of God, on which he based and urged both his fearless appeals to human reason as to spiritual intelligence, and his insistence on an ethical life. Dr. Gordon affirmed that when we discriminate what is best in Edwards from what is worst, he "becomes the theologian of chief interest for our time." Professor Fisher, of Yale, described Edwards as "the Saint of New England," in whom blend "the vigor of Calvin and the sweetness of St. Francis." From Princeton, whose president Edwards became shortly before his death in 1758, Professor Ormond brought a greeting, declaring that to Princeton "the touch of his intense personality was like the introduction of an electric current." The Northampton commemoration thus illustrated Professor Allen's remark that, when a man becomes truly great, he escapes from the claims of any church or sect into the possession of humanity.

The Outlook would like to add to its report of these tributes a simple recognition of their essential justice. We agree with them, as they agree with the most careful students of Edwards's theology, in setting aside, as of secondary importance, Edwards's scholastic theology, which belonged to his age rather than to him, and his vivid and gruesome descriptions of eternal torment, which, though vivified by his emotional imagination, were borrowed from mediæval theology. His distinctive peculiarity, and therefore his special contribution to New England theology, is his spiritual mysticism. Dr. Fairbairn, in an article published some years ago in The Outlook, classes him with Spinoza, Malebranche, and Berkeley, and truly says of him, "In a far higher degree than Spinoza he was a 'God-intoxicated man.'" Edwards's description of his experience of Christ's presence, one day as he was meditating upon spiritual things in 1737 in the woods, is so paralleled by the analogous experience of Henry Ward Beecher as to give rise to the reasonable opinion that the latter was inspired by the former. This doctrine of the divine immanence would have subjected Edwards in our time to the charge of pantheism; indeed, it would not be too much to say that he was truly the father of the modern "New Theology," except that the same vivid conception of the perpetual presence, and the same mystical faith in the Eternal as the one and only and all-pervading reality, have appeared from time to time in theology, ever since an unknown poet wrote the 139th Psalm. It is, therefore, perhaps not strange that the liberals in the orthodox church are the ones who most naturally unite to keep Edwards's memory green and at once to revive his name and endeavor to preserve the influence of his life and teachings. In clearness of vision, in depth of affection, in mystic apprehension of transcendental truth, mated to a vigorous and courageous rationalism, he was the spiritual progenitor of the Beechers, father and son, of Horace Bushnell, and of Phillips Brooks. In this man-intoxicated age a revival of the transcendentalism of Jonathan Edwards is much to be desired, provided it is restrained by his strong logical and controlling reasonableness.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Spectator

Emerson records the fact, true in the experience of almost every college graduate, that, wherever he happened to be on the anniversary of his graduation, he seemed to hear in the distance the academic thunder, and to see around him the fair familiar scenes and the dear familiar faces. But Commencement is a festival of expectation quite as much as of memory; the significant figures are to be found in the graduating class, rather than among the alumni who come back to recall days of student life and to renew old friendships. Both lights rest upon the college at Commencement time—the light of the morning and the light of the afternoon; and every Commencement festival has a different significance and awakens a different set of associations in those who come together to assist in its celebration. The Spectator always elects to count himself with the graduating class and to look at Commencement from their point of view. It is a festival of youth, of promise, and of prophecy; the morning light is upon it; and happy is he for whom the morning light still shines on the world. This festival has nowhere a more charming setting than in the colleges for women. Each college has its own special observance, its individual fêtes, its characteristic ceremonies; but every college makes a fair spectacle for the eye and gives the formal exercises an exquisite setting of youth, flowers, and music. To one who has seen the procession in cap and gown wend its way across the exquisite little vale from the main college building to the chapel at Wellesley, or has sat in the charming little auditorium filled with flowers at Wells, or has seen Vassar in holiday attire, or the quadrangle at Bryn Mawr mitigating its academic gravity with delightful touches of fresh womanhood, or the hill on which Mount Holyoke stands gay with throngs of visitors and students, or the white-robed procession moving under the live-oaks at the Sophie Newcombe in New Orleans, or the march of the graduating class on Ivy Day at Smith, there is no need to declare that all these colleges in varying ways have given their celebrations the touch of beauty; and this not only because they are colleges for women, but because they are colleges for education. It would be monstrous if a woman's college did not express in some form the instinct for beauty, which is not only the charm of the best and most perfectly developed women, but is also the final expression of every form of truth.

❀

This year the Spectator happened to take his annual plunge in the fountain of youth at Northampton, and to see the Smith College celebration under radiant skies and in perfect weather. The class of 1900 at Smith happened to be the largest class which has ever gone out from a woman's college; for this reason, as well as for many others, it felt clearly entitled to the gracious co-operation of the elements, and recognized the succession of beautiful days, as they moved across the hills, as a recognition of its deserts. Northampton was never more beautiful, never better kept, than during last week, when its streets were crowded with visitors. The old town, with its charming surroundings of hills and the greenness of the Connecticut Valley seeming to flow about it as the river winds, wears its age, not as an infirmity, but with a gracious ripeness. On Friday night, when the first performance of "Twelfth Night" was given at the Opera-House, there was the usual crowd eager to witness a new interpretation of one of the Shakespearean comedies. The presentation of a Shakespearean play has been for many years one of the distinctive features of the Smith Commencement; and never has the general skill, which has become traditional in the College under the sensitive and intelligent training of Mr. Alfred Young, been more clearly revealed than in the presentation of "Twelfth Night." At first glance it would seem as if this play were almost impossible of adaptation to such an occasion; but in the skillful hands of the Senior Class it was presented without offense and without any real mutilation. It was admirably, and in parts even exquisitely, staged; and when one remembers that every one on the stage was an amateur, the excellence of the average acting was astonishingly high. Nearly all the leading parts were played with exceptional felicity. From the moment when Olivia appeared, a vision of beauty, on the stage, until the moment she left it, she never fell below the dignity and grace which belonged to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her part; while as for Viola, in the combination of naïveté, freshness, charm, and courage, she was quite irresistible. Of course the purely comic element of the play was the real test of the performance, and this test was sustained with extraordinary success. Sir Toby Belch was presented with a breadth and freshness of humor, without a touch of coarseness, which carried the audience by storm; indeed, it was hard to detect at any point a touch of amateurishness in the presentation of this difficult part. The clown sang with a captivating freshness, and the minor rôles were taken with simplicity and dignity. The preparation for these annual dramatic performances fills no small part in the educational work of the senior year; and the excellence with which the plays are put upon the stage, year after year, by a group of amateurs, affords not only the opportunity of judging of the work in literature, English, and vocal training in the college, but also of the general spirit and quality of culture which pervades the institution; from this point of view Smith College could hardly desire a better concrete illustration of the educational quality of its work.

❀

The baccalaureate sermon, which always touches the deeper note of the Commencement festivities, was preached on Sunday afternoon, the graduating class filling the entire central part of the church from pulpit to gallery. Monday was the critical day from the students' point of view; and never was sky brighter or the atmosphere more perfectly tempered for out-of-door exercises. At ten o'clock the campus was swarming with people, and a little later the long procession of white-robed girls, protected by Junior ushers bearing ropes of mountain laurel, moved in procession through a great concourse of spectators. From the steps of College Hall there were a few words of welcome from the president of the class and the singing of "Fair Smith;" then the ranks were reformed and the class marched around Seelye Hall, planted its ivy, and sang its ivy song; then it reformed again, and, followed by troops of friends, it moved into the Social Hall of the College, where brief addresses in excellent taste touched upon the journalism in Smith College, and the progress of the effort to raise funds for a student building; the exercises closing with the ivy oration, clear in thought, thoroughly well balanced, and presented with admirable simplicity and dignity. The day culminated at seven o'clock, when a company of probably three thousand people gathered on the campus in the early twilight and listened to the singing of the glee club, with banjo, mandolin, harp, and piano accompaniments. As the throng sat or stood, the light faded and the apparently innumerable lines of Japanese lanterns came into view, lighting the campus from the entrance to Paradise with the twinkling of many-colored lights. Even the Spectator, with all his staidness of judgment and maturity of sentiment, was quite transported into fairyland. The distances seemed to be illimitable; and over this vast expanse, poetically but not perfectly lighted, moved throngs of girls in white and visitors without number. It seemed as if the intellectual life of the College had suddenly blossomed, and, for a brief moment, on a perfect summer night, revealed all the beauty hidden away in the silent processes of the year.

❀

On Tuesday at half-past ten the College Hall was again packed to the doors, and again there was the same procession, and the Commencement speaker found himself facing an audience so charming that Mr. Barrie's enthusiasm when he stood on the same place was easily understood, and no doubt entirely shared. No college exercise at Smith is ever complete without the organ; and Dr. Blodgett is one of the chief contributors to the educational influence of the institution. After the distribution of two hundred and twenty-five diplomas, and the beautiful rendering of the Lord's Prayer, which always closes these festivities, the Senior Class marched out for the last time; and then came luncheons and suppers innumerable; reunions of classes, reknitting of old associations, and all the dear and familiar scenes of college life. When the American girl leaves her college amid festivities so penetrated with beauty, it is idle to fear that any academic training will weaken the force or change the character of those ancient ideals which have been the joy and the inspiration alike of the highest poetry, the noblest art, and the most obscure home.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Reported for The Outlook from Opposite Points of View[1]

I.

The Story told by a Republican Staff Correspondent

Philadelphia, June 21, 1900.

AS a spectacle, the Republican Convention began at ten o'clock to-day. It is true that it has been in session during the last two days, but this morning's atmosphere was tingling and electric in comparison with that of those days. Important questions had already come up for settlement—credentials (alas for the Addicks decision!), rules, the rearrangement of representation, the always portentously long speeches of the temporary Chairman and of the permanent Chairman; above all, the platform. But the main work in hand was the choosing of standard-bearers. As to the first of those, every one knew that the Convention would be what it was—a monster ratification meeting to approve the McKinley Administration and to demand a continuance of it.

Yet the last two days have not been entirely those of dull routine. For instance, yesterday there appeared fifteen white-haired old men, survivors of the first Convention of the Republican party, also held in Philadelphia. Their spokesman read a resolution supporting the present Administration. They bore aloft a faded flag, held by a cross-bar like a knight's banner. That old flag had waved forty-four years ago at Musical Fund Hall in this city, when the Pathfinder was nominated for the Presidency. Then the campaign's slogan was "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Press, Free Men, and Fremont." The Pathfinder is dead, but the principles of genuine, not spurious, freedom are as wholeheartedly proclaimed by Republican reformers to-day as they were half a century ago.

As every one knows from the many illustrations of it, the exterior architectural appearance of the Convention Hall is impressive, but so is its vast interior, lavishly decorated with flags and bunting.

It was a monster meeting, as was surely fitting when a trusted and tried President was to be rehonored. This morning, when the Convention met, there was only one little bit of unfinished business before the nomination was in order. Yesterday an excellent resolution had been introduced providing that delegates to Republican National Conventions should be selected on the basis of one delegate for every ten thousand Republican votes in the State cast at the previous Presidential election, together with the usual four delegates-at-large. This morning the amendment was withdrawn, so great had been the sensation among the delegations from the Southern States, who declared with some justice that it would lead to negro disaffection.

Then the Chair announced that a President of the United States would be nominated, and when the clerk read the name of the first State in the alphabet, we heard the reply, "Alabama yields to Ohio." Directly after, the tall and attractive figure of Senator Foraker, from Mr. McKinley's own State, was seen mounting the platform. Mr. Foraker has long been the President's political rival, and the two men are as different in temperament as can be imagined; yet both he and every other speaker spoke of Mr. McKinley, not only with an enthusiastic appreciation, which might be expected at such a time,

[1] In these two articles our readers may see the Republican Convention from two angles—thus getting what might be called a stereoscopic picture. Neither of the writers has read the article of the other. Our readers must not, therefore, assume that because the view presented by one is not contradicted by the other, it is therefore assented to by him. Each view is complete in itself, and neither is intended to affirm, ratify, or contradict the other view.—THE EDITORS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but with such evident sincerity as to indicate that, President or not, Mr. McKinley has always had the genius of the lamented Hobart in making friends and in uniting many men of many minds. Charged with his subject, and speaking with contagious emotion, Senator Foraker declared that "No man in all the Nation is so well qualified for this trust as the great leader under whom the work has been so far conducted. He has the head, he has the heart, he has the special knowledge and the special experience, that qualify him beyond others. And, Mr. Chairman, he has also the stainless reputation and character of a blameless life." Mr. Foraker then put in nomination the name of William McKinley, justly asserting that the nomination was equal to an election.

On this men cheered and waved for twenty minutes. Democrats will say that this was "organized hysteria." Let them remember that it was rather a demonstration on the part of those who had enjoyed three years of prosperity and wanted it to continue. Sentiment rules in business as well as outside, and the name McKinley has become a synonym of prosperity. The "Advance Agent" is now the Maintainer of Prosperity. It is no wonder, then, that such a typical specimen of the plain people as Governor Mount, of Indiana, grasped the standard of his State and rushed toward the platform. He was followed by the leaders of every other State with their standards, and in a trice the stage was full of them. Then the procession round the hall began, and the appropriate song suggested itself and burst forth: "Glory, glory, Hallelujah, as we go marching on!"

There stood up a seconder of the nomination. With jaws grimly set, he waited for the stentorian applause which greeted him to subside. He saluted no one; he was frowning and looking intensely straight ahead, his shoulders squared as if on dress parade. When he came to speak, the words hissed forth as from a steam-engine at overpressure, and were marked by almost spasmodic emphasis. Those words, sharply penetrative, accompanied by forceful, unstudied gestures, impressed his hearers as no other words had yet done, and they gave to the young orator an earnest attention which they had not given to any other. But that was not the only reason for their attention. They saw, beneath the modish, close-fitting black cutaway coat, the rough, loose, Rough-Rider, khaki uniform. They saw, too, united in one man with the hero of San Juan, the student, scholar, civil service reformer, police administrator, Cabinet secretary, statesman, executive—Theodore Roosevelt.

Just as Mr. Roosevelt was about to speak there occurred a characteristic scene. A photographer had planted his camera directly in front of the speaker, who detected it and said sharply, "Take that thing away; take it away." A sergeant-at-arms rushed the man and his apparatus out of the aisle. From that moment, and for twenty moments, a delighted audience listened to such pungent sentences as these: "It wasn't a great war—that with Spain; it didn't have to be." "The Filipino war still goes on because the allies in this country of the insurrectionary oligarchy have taught their dupes to believe that, if rebellion is kept alive until next November, Democratic success at the polls here will be followed by the abandonment of the islands." "We stand on the threshold of a new century, a century big with the fate of the great nations of the earth. It rests with us now to decide whether, in the opening years of that century, we shall march forward to fresh victories, or whether at the outset we shall deliberately cripple ourselves for the contest."

Ordinarily the question of a Presidential nominee is of surpassing interest. This year, however, every one knew that our honored President would be unanimously renominated, as he was. The real interest was, therefore, in the Vice-Presidency. If Hobart had lived, the Republican Convention of 1900 would undoubtedly have renominated both candidates, but death had made vacant an office which had become a more genuine power and dignity by the services of its latest occupant. Well-equipped candidates and "favorite sons" had been put forward for that power and dignity. Delegates had been instructed for such statesmen as Long, Washburn, Dolliver, and others, yet one thing was evident from the start. As a National figure, they all felt that there was one man who did not want to be a candidate, yet who would pre-eminently fulfill most re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quirements. His only drawback seemed to be that he was such a young man—but so was Pitt when he took office, that other political genius with whom he may be compared. As Mr. James Bryce said to the writer last summer, "Theodore Roosevelt is the hope of American politics."

Although still a young man, Mr. Roosevelt has had a considerable and certainly an uncommon experience in politics. Sixteen years ago he sat among the delegates at the National Convention which nominated Blaine for the presidency. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the many offices and honors which have come to Mr. Roosevelt since that day. They have culminated in his Governorship of New York, the active and strenuous duties of which exactly suit his combativeness in these days of franchise fights and Tammany trusts. He has believed that he could be of more use to his party and to his country at the present time in his present position than in any other, and as a candidate for re-election to it. But the great majority of Republicans throughout the United States, granting the necessity to New York of such ability and courage as are his, think differently. They want these very powers emphasized on a National ticket, and the Nation outranks any State. Mr. Roosevelt would not be convinced of the universality of the demand for Rooseveltian fiber, and of his pre-eminence in the supply, until he went to Philadelphia and until he had spent four days in resisting by every means in his power delegations from every part of the Union. It was an unprecedented scene at a National Convention, that of a candidate doing his best to escape being nominated. There is not a case on record where the office has sought the man to such a degree. Hence it makes us indignant when Democrats insinuate that Mr. Roosevelt's final acquiescence in his nomination was due to the influence of such bosses as Messrs. Platt and Quay. These worthies may have made use of Mr. Roosevelt's enormous popularity for their own selfish ends, but they were as nothing in the universal and insatiable thirst of the people for the man who approached nearest to their moral ideal. It is small wonder, then, that the demonstration which followed the presentation of Mr. Roosevelt's name was even more spontaneous as that already accorded to Mr. McKinley. Delegates began marching around the hall, lowering their banners as they passed their candidate. The Kansas delegates tore off their yellow silk sunflowers and threw them upon their idol. They knew that his name on the Presidential ticket meant the winning of their State back to Republicanism after eight years of Demo-Populistic vagaries. They felt, as one of the Southern delegates remarked to the writer, "We want a candidate we can yell for." They have got him.

As he would not vote himself, he now knows that he is the only anti-Roosevelt delegate in the Convention. This proof should at last convince him that he is the people's choice. Indeed, for the first time in history, Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates have been nominated without a dissenting voice, for McKinley is "the Western man with Eastern sympathies," and Roosevelt "the Eastern man with Western sympathies." As an inevitable and logical conclusion, no convention ever adjourned with more united and harmonious party feeling.

Next to Colonel Roosevelt, the two most discussed candidates were Secretary Long, of Massachusetts, and Representative Dolliver, of Iowa. Once elected, Mr. Long would have made an ideal Vice-President. The reason why Republicans preferred Mr. Roosevelt was that he is more of a "hustler," and hustling qualities are needed to elect in a rear-end car campaign, such as this will be, rather than the old-fashioned front-porch campaign. Mr. Long was not at Philadelphia, but Mr. Dolliver was—a great, broad-shouldered, breezy Westerner, full of good stories and rich metaphor. He was born in West Virginia (then the western part of the Old Dominion), and educated at the University of West Virginia. His father was a Methodist itinerant. Naturally, after the Iowa delegation, that from West Virginia was most enthusiastic for him. They regarded him as one of themselves; and he certainly seems to unite Virginian and Iowan characteristics. His is a strong, magnetic, engaging personality. He puts all at ease, and has apparently as many personal friends among Democrats as among Republicans; so hard is it to resist his overflowing good humor and kindness of heart. He told

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more than one good story to The Outlook's commissioners, but, like many humorists, is really at his best when he is "in dead earnest." He said to me yesterday: "The great trouble with this Vice-Presidency business among both Republicans and Democrats is that no one regards the office seriously enough. I have seen delegates from a State pledge themselves to Long, then go out into the street and in ten minutes they are weakening to another candidate. Don't think I have anything invested in the Vice-Presidency. I haven't tried for it, and I have nothing to withdraw from. I haven't announced myself as a candidate, even if my friends have been kind in suggesting my name. Let me tell you, though, that they would not have been enthusiastic enough to have done that if it had been known that Roosevelt was in a position to accept the nomination. . . . What do I think about the Democratic charge of imperialism? I'll tell you. The only imperialism to-day is found in the statute-book of Democratic States which have deliberately nullified the United States Constitution by leaving half their population without voice or representation at Washington."

If Roosevelt and Dolliver were remarkable personalities at Philadelphia, so was Senator Hanna, of Ohio. His has generally been supposed to be a dominating personality, and so it is, but to those of us on the Western Reserve who have known him all our lives, the insinuations made against him of the worst bossism are repellent. In caricatures his face has become as distorted as his enemies charge his character to be, so familiar are we nowadays with cheap cartoons. Yet my next-door neighbor at the Convention remarked: "Why, the beastly caricatures I've seen of Hanna were not even caricatures—they were caricatures of caricatures. Hanna doesn't look a quarter as black or as fat as he's painted." His speech as Chairman of the National Committee in calling the Convention to order was a clear and forceful statement spoken with recently developed and surprising oratorical ability. His decisive tone in the challenge, "There is no such word as fail," still rings in our ears. His face is not so inspiring as some, but it is an honest face, and it has fine lines of severity. He had used his severity and all his potentialities to protect the interests of Secretary Long, commonly reported to be the Administration candidate. But Mr. Hanna said to us to-day that the Administration has really had no candidate for Vice-President, wanting to leave a free field to the Convention. "I was as anxious to protect Roosevelt in his position as to protect Bliss and Fairbanks and Allison, who had also refused to be candidates for the nomination. With the strong sentiment of the delegates from all parts of the country for Roosevelt, and since McKinley was to be nominated without a dissenting voice, it was my judgment that the Governor should be nominated for Vice-President with the same unanimity." Many, however, believe that Mr. Hanna was forced to surrender, finding that no name could counteract the Roosevelt boom. It is thus easy to see that Mr. Hanna does not run the Republican party, even though he may be its head floor-walker. All the Administration power does not prevail against a nod of the head from the young biographer of Benton and Gouverneur Morris.

Mr. Bryan says that the three issues of the campaign are the currency, "imperialism," and trusts. As to the first, Colonel Roosevelt remarked to-day:

> We have done so well that our opponents actually use this very fact as an appeal for turning us out. We have put the tariff on a foundation so secure, we have passed such wise laws on finance, that our opponents appeal to the honest men who deserted them at the last election to help them now, because, forsooth, we have done so well that nobody need fear their capacity to undo our work! We have at last put our financial legislation on a sound basis, but no possible financial legislation can save us from fearful and disastrous panic if we trust our finances to the management of any man who would be acceptable to the leaders and guides of Democracy in its present spirit. No Secretary of the Treasury who would be acceptable to the Populistic Democracy could avoid plunging this country back into financial chaos.

Mr. Roosevelt is right. Another New York delegate put the case this way in talking to me last night: "Mr. Bryan's defeat next November will be secured, first of all, by the moral rather than economic victory which secured it in 1896. But let us suppose he were elected President. While he could not change the gold standard law until the Republican majority in the Senate is altered, a Democratic victory would inevitably bring about

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

certain changes reducing the present majority to a figure greatly endangering Republican control. Furthermore, the House generally falls in Presidential years to the party winning the Presidential election. The resultant anxiety throughout the country would paralyze industry and investments, and would practically put us on a silver basis." The continued importance of the currency issue was recognized by the framers of the Republican platform, the first plank of which is, "We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard." The platform continues: "The Republican party promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff, and a law making gold the standard of values." The promise is redeemed. Present prosperity is shown by the fact that in three years of the McKinley administration there has been an excess of exports over imports of nearly a billion and a half of dollars. This prosperity will not continue if a change is made in the party which administers our Government.

Every delegate with whom I talked declared that our record in the operations of the past three years in many parts of the world was certainly expansionistic, but not "imperialistic." There is no trace of "imperialism" in the Republican platform; why should there be? said they, since imperialism is opposed to every Republican principle and tradition. There were few, if any, Hoar Republicans among the delegates. Senator Mason was one, but expects to make speeches supporting McKinley and Roosevelt. As to the Philippines question in particular, Senator Lodge voiced the "imperialistic" purpose of the Administration in declaring yesterday that "the Filipinos shall be advanced as rapidly as possible along the road to entire freedom under our flag."

To-day an effective thrust at the charge of trust-favoring legislation was aimed by Mr. Roosevelt when he declared that Democrats had foamed at the mouth in denunciation, and yet, "In my own State their foremost party leaders, including the man before whom the others bow, have been discovered in a trust which is of infamous and perhaps of criminal character—a trust in which these apostles of Democracy, these prophets of the new dispensation, have sought to wring fortunes from the dire need of their poorer brethren." Raising his arms, he cried: "I pity the man who mentions the word *trust* in the New York campaign this year," a sentiment greeted by thunderous applause and the word "Ice!" from ten thousand throats.

II.

The Story told by a Democratic Staff Correspondent

AS I stepped out of the railway station at Philadelphia on Monday evening, the Republican clubs of the Twelfth Ward were forming for the night's procession in the street before me. Before I was near enough to see the marchers, my eyes were greeted with these words upon a great transparency: "Civil Service Creates an Aristocracy of Office-Holders. Repeal it." By the time I reached the sidewalk another transparency was borne along, this one reading, "Reform Civil Service by Abolishing it." The next transparency, and the next, bore similar designs—each using the words "civil service" as if they covered the reform hated and not the offices desired. I had read the week before in "City and State" that the allied Republican clubs of Philadelphia had decided with a great hurrah to carry transparencies calling for the repeal of the obnoxious civil service statute, but I had also read that orders had come from headquarters that the sentiments of the clubs were to be concealed. The crowd before me showed that, in some wards at least, the active workers of the Republican party in Philadelphia were not to be repressed for the sake of any gains which the advocacy of Civil Service Reform might bring to the party elsewhere. When I turned my attention from the banners to the quality of the men who were marching, I found that the latter were, in moral quality, precisely such men as make up the Tammany processions in New York, and I could not but reflect that in 1856, when the Repub-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lican party stood for the spirit of reform, these elements in Philadelphia life, almost as much as the aristocracy of Philadelphia, were opposed to Republicanism. As I watched the procession later in the evening, and saw companies with fantastic masks, and no one of their banners referring to any principle more moral than that of protection, which the platform of 1856 did not indorse, I continued to reflect upon the spirit which now animated the Republican party as contrasted with that which animated it at the beginning.

These questions were in my mind a good deal the day following. The moral quality of the delegates was to me a matter of prime importance. During the previous evening, while the procession was going on, I had been interested in watching and talking with members of the various delegations quartered at my hotel. The Iowa delegation had made a signally fine impression. Nearly all of its members looked like men of character as well as ability, like men who would be more at home in a church meeting than in a bar-room or even a fashionable club. The Nebraska delegation, on the other hand, had made a very different impression. Its chairman was distinctively of the high-living, low-thinking type, while one or two others of the most prominent members gave the impression of legislative lobbyists, with whom moral considerations would weigh nothing. These, of course, are generalizations and not universalizations, for the most interesting delegate I talked with that evening was Mr. Rosewater, editor of the Omaha "Bee," who seemed to me not only a man of rare ability and energy, but a sincere anti-monopolist—at heart thoroughly opposed to the present tendencies of his party. It was no surprise to me, however, to learn that evening from a Nebraska Republican that Mr. Rosewater had been defeated for National Committeeman by a man generally reported to be his opposite in many ways, and that the chances of carrying Nebraska had thus been seriously impaired. When I reached the Convention Hall a little before the Convention was called to order the next day, I used some of my leisure in noting the quality of the delegations near me. Texas sat nearest, and its white members were of a much lower type than I had expected to see. I thought the delegations might contain some men who were Republicans because of their sense of the wrongs inflicted upon the negroes by the race feeling of the white Democrats. But the white men before me were as far as possible removed from this type. The faces of the negroes in the delegation were much better. They were not of the plug-ugly or even the sporting kind, but looked like men who might legitimately have influence among their people. Back of Texas sat Vermont, and I thought that this delegation might be a duplication of that of Iowa; but two or three of the eight faces were distinctly bad, and the delegation as a whole seemed to misrepresent the moral fiber of Vermont Republicanism. Back of Vermont sat Utah, and here for the first time the delegates were plain people of the serious type. I had not time to go further with this study when the Convention was called to order by Chairman Hanna. His face was so much better than his familiar caricatures that to see him produced a distinct revulsion of feeling in his favor and against the caricaturist, whose drawings are really studies in distortion rather than caricatures. The Senator's face was that of a business man in whose honesty anybody would confide, and the face of a politician whose methods would at least be direct. His eyes had none of that furtiveness which generally characterizes those of the political trickster. It was not, however, a face that attracted me. There was in it neither moral earnestness nor humane sympathy. It was the face of a typical materialistic business man, who seemed by right to have his place as the dominating spirit of this Convention. That afternoon I went into the Philadelphia Library and read in the Philadelphia "Public Ledger" of June 20, 1856, the account of the Republican Convention then in session. On that occasion Mr. Morgan, of New York, who called the delegates to order, feelingly addressed them as "Representatives of the Heart and Hope of the Nation." Had Chairman Hanna tried to have recourse to similar alliteration, the most flattering he could have used would have been "Representatives of the Purse and Pride of the Nation."

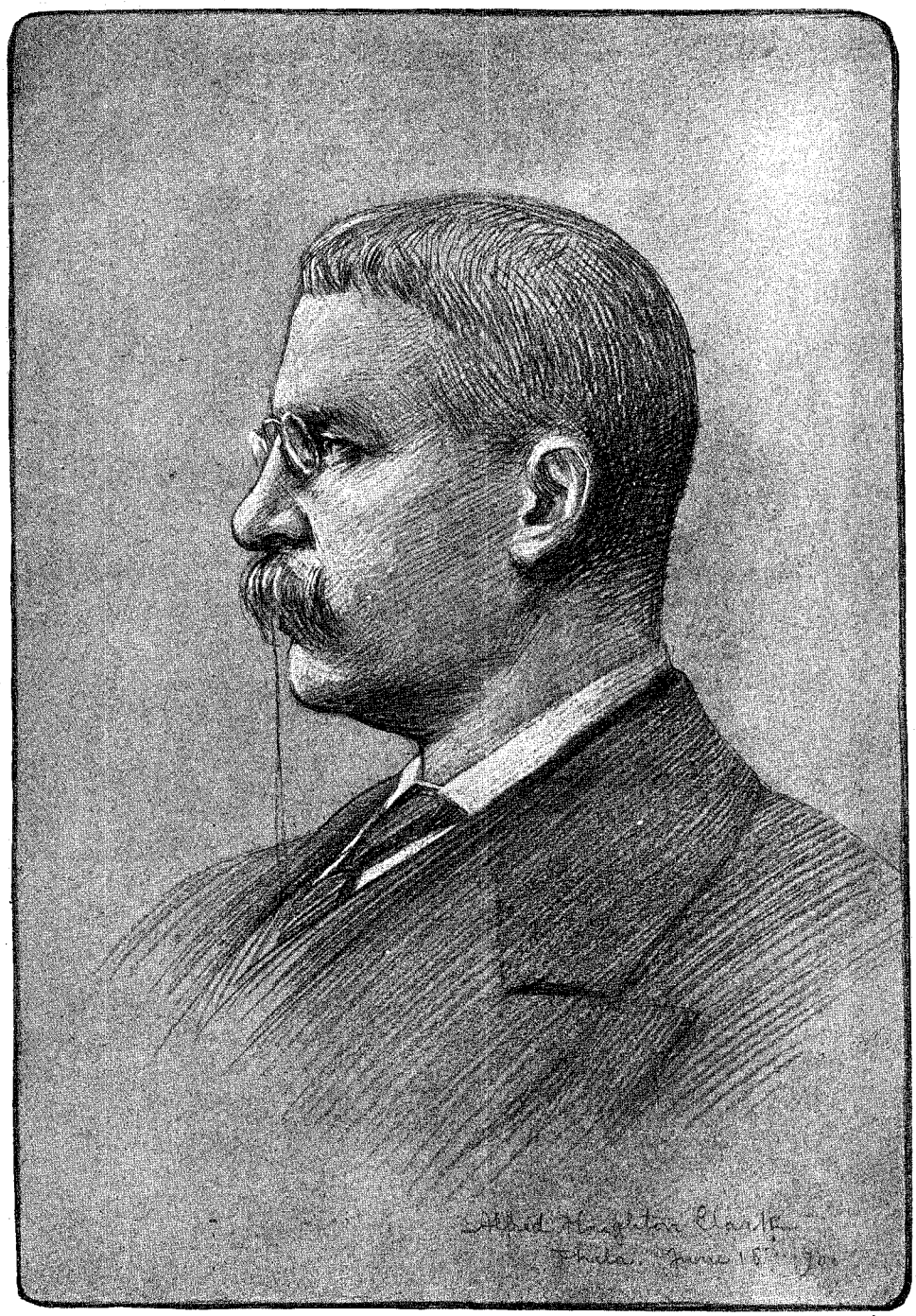
I did not remain long at the Convention

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM McKINLEY

From a drawing made from life for The Outlook by Alfred H. Clark.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

From a drawing made from life for The Outlook by Alfred H. Clark.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the first day, and learned little while I did remain. When I returned to my seat, after observing the delegates near the section allotted to the press, I found that the place assigned me, though better than three-fourths of the seats in the great hall, made the proceedings of the Convention but little more than a pantomime. Only when one of the secretaries read something, or some speaker exhibited unusual lung power, did I catch any of the words. An audience of sixteen thousand is not an audience at all, for half of its members can hear nothing from the beginning, and the buzz of their conversation soon makes it impossible for speakers to be heard by half of those remaining. Thus the Convention was exceptionally profitless for purposes of ascertaining popular sentiment upon the subjects before it. The place to learn what people thought and felt in different parts of the country was in the hotel lobbies and at the headquarters of the various State delegations.

The question in which I was more particularly interested than any other was the extent to which Republicans still sympathized with Senators Hoar and Hale and Wellington and Mason in the position they took in supporting the Bacon resolution to treat the Philippines as we promise to treat Cuba. The first man to whom I put this question wore a Nebraska badge, though he proved not to be a delegate. His first answer was that everybody supported the President's policy. A few moments later, however, he remarked that his personal feeling agreed with my own, as he had never believed in heterogeneous expansion. The next man to whom I put my question was a negro editor from West Virginia—who, I thought, might feel the contempt for the manhood of the colored races which underlies the shooting down of Filipinos in place of treating them as we would wish to be treated. He, however, disappointed my hopes, though the way in which he put his indorsement of the President seemed to me a trifle significant. "We," he said, referring to the negroes, "are on the side of McKinley, right or wrong. . . . We are having plenty to eat and plenty to wear, and we are satisfied."

The next man I inquired of was a delegate from Nevada, who answered unequivocally that the Republicans of his State were in favor of "holding the Philippines and governing them." We were riding in a street-car together, and our conversation was of necessity prolonged. He began his argument by telling me that the opposition to the annexation of the Philippines to-day was exactly like the opposition to the annexation of Louisiana under Jefferson. When I reminded him that the annexation of Louisiana was opposed by the aristocracy and favored by the working people, who expected to settle the unoccupied country, while the present annexation was demanded by the plutocracy and opposed by the working people, who could not colonize the densely peopled country, he changed his illustration to the territory taken from Mexico. When I recalled the fact that the demand for the forcible annexation of the settled parts of Mexico came from Buchanan and the pro-slavery Democrats, and that everybody now rejoiced that Mexico had not been annexed, he declared that he was sorry. "I want," he said, "that the United States should rule everything from the Arctic Ocean to the Isthmus of Darien." There was no doubt as to his cordial support of the Administration. It was by this time clear enough that opponents of imperialism were rare people in this Convention, and I went to the Massachusetts headquarters hoping to find that some of the delegates had at least known of Republicans who sympathized with Senator Hoar. I talked with only two Massachusetts delegates, but one of these assured me that there were very few anti-imperialists among Massachusetts Republicans, and the other that there were practically none. It was clear that the Massachusetts delegates were partisans of Senator Lodge, and that they were in touch only with those Republicans who felt as they did. My inquiries on this subject almost ceased with this visit, though I afterwards met an anti-imperialist delegate from the West, who also was chiefly in touch with men who felt as he did. One other delegate from his State, he assured me, felt exactly as he did, and though unwilling to break with his constituents by voting against McKinley in this Convention, would not vote for him in November. "Every foreign-born voter in our State," said my informant, "is opposed to McKinley's Philippine policy, and he stands

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no more chance of being elected this fall than you do."

In talking with delegates, however, it required the forcing of conversation out of natural channels to get opinions. The one natural subject of conversation was the possibility of Roosevelt for Vice-President, and the impossibility of any one else. The delegates were more cautious in expressing this feeling than the Republicans who accompanied the various delegations. The influence of the Administration was strongly against Mr. Roosevelt's nomination, as was indicated to the world by Congressman Grosvenor's written statement that this nomination would be an insult to the President. Delegates who did not wish to offend the Administration urged that Mr. Roosevelt did not want the nomination, had declared that he would not accept it, and that the power forcing him upon the Convention was the power that wanted to force him out of the Governorship in New York. The independent Republicans of New York who were present at the Convention strongly supported this view. Some of them visited various Western delegations and told them that the Platt machine in New York had frankly told Mr. Roosevelt that his renomination for Governor would cut off the campaign contributions from the street-railway corporations, and that New York State would be endangered if the machine succeeded in burying the Governor alive in the Vice-Presidency. The fact that the men who urged these arguments were Mr. Roosevelt's warmest friends, and the fact that the men who tried hardest to force his nomination were his worst enemies, made the contest one between those who cared more for the man than for the party and those who cared more for the party than for the man.

If Mr. Roosevelt had stood by his first declaration that he would "not accept the nomination" for the Vice-Presidency, he would have come out of the Convention with far greater personal prestige, and very likely would have come out of it the nominee for the Presidency. The first of these propositions I knew to be true before I went to Philadelphia; the latter was gradually forced upon me as I talked with members of different delegations. Everywhere the men who dared talk—even the men who defended every point in the Administration programme—admitted that there was this year no popular enthusiasm for McKinley, and admitted with equal freedom that none of the Vice-Presidential candidates except Mr. Roosevelt could arouse any. A ward politician in Baltimore, who had been a delegate to the last National Convention, but was not to the present one, expressed an unexpectedly general feeling when he said to me, "If they don't nominate Roosevelt, they might as well shut up shop." When I inquired of him the situation in Maryland, he said that Senator Wellington—the anti-imperialist Republican—was going to support the Democrats, that the offices were all filled so that no work could be got from those who hoped for them, and that unless there was somebody "to hurrah for" they couldn't get out the vote. "Long is a nice man," he said, "but he hasn't got any ginger. We have got to put some ginger into this campaign, or we had better throw up the sponge." It was this sentiment which enabled Platt and Quay to win their victory over Senator Hanna and the Administration. So strong was this sentiment that, even after Mr. Roosevelt had disappointed his friends and lost some of his prestige with every one by accepting the nomination for Vice-President, there was still talk of a convention stampede to make him instead the candidate for President.

The lifelessness of the Convention, until Mr. Roosevelt's acceptance was assured, was so oppressive that no Republican could deny it. On the second day the Committee on Credentials reported, and their reports showed that Addicks, the gas manipulator of Boston and the political corruptionist of Delaware, had been given command of the Republican forces of Delaware. To the credit of the Convention, this decision elicited only the faintest kind of cheer, although Addicks had had "a mile and a quarter of Delaware" in Monday evening's procession. The most indignant men I met in Philadelphia were the regular or anti-Addicks Republicans of Delaware, who claimed to represent the great majority of their party, and all of its moral decency. These men charged that their defeat was due to Addicks's promise of campaign contributions, and they declared that a thousand anti-Addicks

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Republicans would refuse to register this fall, and many more would vote the Democratic ticket. The knowledge of the continued fierceness of the fight made it almost impossible for even the supporters of Addicks to cheer the victory. The only great cheer during the second day's Convention was for Matthew S. Quay. Compared with the ovation he received, as disgusted Republicans admitted to me, the applause for the President had been as nothing. One of the scenes that day ought to have called forth an ovation and did not. A group of survivors of the Convention of 1856 was presented to this Convention, and I expected a perfect storm of cheers, in which I was prepared to join. But hardly had I begun to cheer before I found that it was all over, and that evening two Republican companions referred to the presentation of the founders of the party as a sort of "hitch" in the proceedings. It all went to show how little the Convention of 1900 had in common with the Convention of 1856.

I had the pleasure of talking with two of these survivors, and they spoke feelingly of the contrast between the present occasion and the gathering of 1856. It was after 1856, it will be recalled, that the purchase of a Governor's mansion on Beacon Street for Governor Banks was referred to in Boston as "an attempt of the Republicans to get into good society;" and in the cities further South the attitude of good society toward the new party was even more derisive. I was not at all surprised when the finer of the two old delegates—a Maryland man—said that after the Convention of 1856 they returned home to "hostility and contumely." I was quite interested to learn how these men looked upon the Philippine war. I knew that in my old State of Ohio two of the five survivors of the '56 Convention—Judge Sloane and General Brinkerhoff—had long been free-trade Democrats, and that a third of the five—ex-Governor Edgerton—had broken from his party in 1896 to support Mr. Bryan. I was not surprised, therefore, when one of these two survivors told me that while he favored the annexation of the Philippines, it was only to make States out of them "with the same rights as Ohio." "No free-soiler," he said, "could believe in holding people in subjection." I did not explain to him that the Administration's denial that the people of the territories would have the constitutional rights of citizens proceeded from no other spirit than unwillingness to treat them as a part of our own people. The other delegate, a Pennsylvanian, really supported the President's policy; but the whole incident served strongly to corroborate Carl Schurz's statement that the Republicans who were his associates when the party stood against slavery—ex-Senators Morrill, Edmunds, Sherman, Henderson, and Boutwell—were all opposed to the present war to prevent the independence of the Philippines.

The platform was read on Wednesday, but nobody heard it. I was unable, therefore, to judge how its various portions were received. As to one plank, however, the discussions by the delegates did not leave me in doubt. Few as were the delegates who did not accept the position of their party respecting the Philippines, there were still fewer who did accept the position of the English Tory party respecting the war in South Africa. There was a strong popular demand for a declaration which would show that the conscience of all parties in America supported the conscience of the Liberal party in England in condemning the British Government for making war on a little republic, refusing to submit the dispute to arbitration. But the platform merely expressed sympathy with both sides.

On the last day the nominating speeches and the nominations were made. The speeches made for Mr. McKinley held the Democrats responsible for the business depression—which existed all over the world after the closing of the Indian mints; and made Mr. McKinley in person responsible for the business revival—which has come all over the world since the increase in the production of gold. Not one of these speeches dwelt upon the personal qualities of the candidate. Governor Roosevelt's speech contained a furious assault upon the Filipinos as "savages," though the one-tenth unchristianized are mainly agricultural, and the nine-tenths, composed of Visayans and Tagals, have been devout Catholics for generations. It also contained an assault upon the Democratic party for willingness to allow the Philippines to be seized by some strong European power, though every Democrat

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Congress favors protecting the Philippines against foreign aggression just as we have protected the countries of Spanish America ever since the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine. This speech and subsequent nomination pushed to the front the one issue, between plutocracy and democracy, upon which the platform had shown timidity in its repudiation of democratic principles. When I remembered how vehemently the platform of 1856 condemned the proposal of the plutocracy of that day to annex Cuba, it seemed to me that the transformation of the Republican party could hardly be made more complete. Certainly the Republicanism of to-day has as little in common with the Republicanism of 1856 as the Democracy of 1856 had in common with the Democracy of Jefferson.

The Republican Platform

We print below the full text of the Platform adopted by the Republican Convention in Philadelphia on June 20:

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives, met in National Convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward to a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, intrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the National credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed.

The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value.

The people, by great majorities, issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. This commission has been executed and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any Government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar, or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed, and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this—that while, during the whole period of 107 years from 1790 to 1897, there was an excess of exports over imports of only $383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of $1,483,537,094.

The Spanish War

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of National aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled.

It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action, its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

The President Indorsed

We indorse the Administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American Nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the Government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Financial

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard, and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis have been secured.

We recognize that interest rates are potent factors in production and business activity, and, for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met, in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day.

We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

Trusts

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

Protection

We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified, and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country.

Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government, and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them finally to enter the markets of the world.

We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce, in return for free foreign markets.

Immigration

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

American Shipping

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The National defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade-carrying fleets of the world.

Pensions

The Nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the Government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal and should be liberally administered, and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

The Civil Service

We commend the policy of the Republican party in maintaining the efficiency of the civil service. The Administration has acted wisely in its effort to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

Franchise in the South

It was the plain purpose of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State Governments, whether by statutory or Constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary and should be condemned.

Roads and Highways

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the Legislatures of the several States.

Rural Free Delivery

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arid Lands

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate National legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

Statehood

We favor home rule for and the early admission to Statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

Reduction of War Taxes

The Dingley Act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of $40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly funded 2 per cent. bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes.

Isthmian Canal

We favor the construction, ownership, control, and protection of an Isthmian canal by the Government of the United States.

New Markets

New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the Administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

Department of Commerce

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries, in the charge of a Secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet.

Consular System

The United States consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new department, upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the Nation's increasing trade.

Protection for Americans

The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

Women Nurses

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the Volunteer Aid Association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

The Samoan Acquisition

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the Government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded.

Hawaiian Annexation

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

The South African War

We commend the part taken by our Government in the Peace Conference at The Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine. The provisions of the Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republics. While the American Government must continue the policy, prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President, and imposed upon us by the Hague treaty, of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

The Philippine Problem

In accepting by the Treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine Islands.

That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations.

Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

Cuban Independence

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

The Republican party, upon its history and upon this declaration of its principles and policies, confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Reform Movement in China

By Isaac Taylor Headland

Of the Peking University (Methodist)

THE present uprising in China is in some respects the result of the reform movement which began more than two years ago. Let us follow the gradual growth of the reform movement, and see how one condition has been the logical outcome of another, until the present condition has been reached.

From the time of the introduction of Christianity into China until the present, the missions of all churches have had schools connected with their work, and from these schools have gone out a great number of young men who have taken positions in all departments of business, and many of State, and revealed to the officials as well as to many of the people the power which foreign education lends. An imperial college was soon established by the imperial customs service for the special education of young men for diplomatic and other services, and from this school have gone out young men who are the representatives of the government as consuls or ministers in the various countries of Europe and America; and these, together with the students who were sent to Europe and America, have had a vast influence in governmental affairs, though in only a few cases directly connected with the Government at home.

This influence was such that the Government began the establishment of schools and arsenals, with which there were connected numerous scholars who did a large amount of translating and publishing of many books which had had a molding or controlling influence on Western governments, or which were the outcome of conditions in the West. In addition to these were many tract societies which published a healthy kind of religious literature, and a "Society for the Diffusion of General and Christian Knowledge," which published translations or digests of not only the most noted books on religion, but also such books as Mackenzie's "Nineteenth Century," Strong's "Our Country," Bellamy's "Looking Backward." These, with all kinds of scientific books on astronomy, physiology, chemistry, physics, geography, and other subjects of a like nature, were distributed among the students at their annual or triennial examinations, and were sold at Chinese shops, not only at the open ports, but in many of the large cities in every province in the Empire.

This class of work brought out a noted utterance from the pen (or brush) of the great Viceroy Chang Chih Tung, a man who ranks with Li Hung Chang, in which he urged that the members of the diplomatic body in various foreign countries translate or secure the translation into Chinese of all the best books in the languages of the countries in which they happen to be stationed. He called the old conservatives "mossbacks," and urged that the printers and booksellers in all the open ports print large editions of good books on government, international law, political economy, and kindred topics, and scatter them broadcast throughout the land. This book was printed by the Tsungli Yamen, and advertised by yellow posters on the walls in all the streets of the capital as well as in other cities.

The fever for reading these books was so great as to tax to the utmost the presses of the ports to produce them, and some of the societies feared that a condition was arising which they were unprepared for. Books written by such men as Dr. Allen, Dr. Mateer, and Dr. Martin, and even the large dictionary by S. Wells Williams, and the English-Chinese edition of the Four Books by Dr. Legge, were brought out in pirated photographic reproductions by the book-shops of Shanghai, and sold at from one-tenth to one-fifteenth of the cost of the original work. Authors soon discovered that they must protect themselves, and the pirates were in some cases compelled to deliver over to authors the stereotype plates which they had thus made, to avoid being brought before the officials in litigation.

It was while this was going on that the matter was taken up by the Government and introduced into the examinations; it compelled the students to be examined in mathematics and other phases of West-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ern thought if they hoped to secure their degrees. This, of course, made certain phases of Western education very general among the official class; and what gets to the official class becomes more or less known, with a greater or less (usually less) degree of accuracy, by the people. For although the Chinese have no newspapers, as we look upon newspapers; yet every man, woman, and child is a Herald, Gazette, or Journal, to be read by his next-door neighbor; and though his information is not correct, it is nearly as correct as that of similar news-carriers of the West, and serves as these do to awaken the people to a realization that something is going on somewhere else in the world.

While this book-making was going on in the ports, business intercourse with China was gradually growing. The telegraph was carrying messages from one end of the country to the other; Chinese merchants were carrying on commerce by means of a large steamship company; trade grew up in cloth, nails, clocks, watches, toys, lamps, and afterwards in candies, wines, and liquors; and then all kinds of groceries, dry-goods, and general merchandise began to be carried to the interior cities, towns, and village fairs, and the Chinese began to use the goods of the people whom they had learned to hate as "foreign devils."

This desire for foreign goods, toys, and inventions very early in his life reached the child Kwang Su (the present Emperor), and became a passion with him, so that it is said that the part of the Palace which he occupied was a very museum of all the most ingenious contrivances, wonderful inventions, and attractive productions of the West. These were collected and presented to him by officials who hoped through them to secure his favor and obtain official position. Phonographs, telephones, gramophones, graphophones, and every kind of *graph* and *phone* which was calculated to open the eyes of the young man or tickle his fancy, were purchased for him, presented to him, or bought by him. So that it is probable that few people in the world had a larger collection of the wonders of modern invention than the young Emperor himself.

But when he had passed his majority his tastes began to change. He stepped out of the kindergarten into the school. He took up the study of the English language, which opened up to him the portals of a new world. And when the ladies of China presented to the Empress Dowager the New Testament printed with new type, on special paper, bound in silver, incased in a silver box, which was again inclosed in a plush case, the young Emperor the next day sent to the office of the American Bible Society to purchase copies of both the Old and New Testaments, such as that Society was selling to his people. He began at once the study of the Gospel of Luke. Of this I have positive proof, because one of the members of the church of which I was five years pastor was a gardener and florist, and took flowers and produce into the Palace daily, where the eunuchs became so interested in the Bible and kindred topics that it was with difficulty he could get away when he went in to trade with them. On one occasion they gave him his dinner so that he might stay longer and talk with them; on another occasion they gave him three hundred ounces of silver, saying that he need not return it, but that they would take it out in flowers; on another they invited him and my assistant pastor to dine with them; and on still another occasion three of them came with him to call on me that they might have a view of a "foreign devil" and his home.

To the study of English and the Bible by the young Emperor is largely due the waves of influence that passed over the officials and their sons. There was, not only at Peking, but throughout the Empire, a rush toward the acquirement of foreign languages, especially English, and a knowledge of all kinds of foreign affairs. Letters and telegrams came to us at the Peking University from all over the Empire asking us to reserve room for the senders in the school; and with the letters came the price of tuition, that the place might be obtained. Among those who came were the grandson of the tutor of his Majesty, several graduates of various degrees, among whom were men of rank, and the sons of wealthy men who had not yet obtained degrees. Schools were established for the teaching and study of English, some private, others under patronage of the Government. Constant requests came to our graduates to teach English in official

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

families, so that my assistant pastor, who was a good English scholar, was permitted to give up his salary as a preacher, and to teach English for a living, which work he continued for some two or three years, all the time preaching for nothing, and dropping seeds and spreading an influence in those official families which will prevent their ever being opposers of Christianity or the Church in the future.

But toys and inventions, the study of English and the Bible by the Emperor, were only methods of trying his wings for longer flights. He soon began a thorough investigation of all phases of foreign learning. He began to purchase all kinds of foreign books which had been translated into Chinese, as well as all kinds that had been written in Chinese by foreign scholars, or by Chinese versed in foreign learning. These books embraced such topics as international law, political economy, chemistry, physics, botany, astronomy, mathematical books, books on medicine and kindred topics, together with books on all phases of Christianity now preached or taught in the Middle Kingdom. During this time a eunuch from the Palace came to me daily seeking a new book for his Majesty, and I was forced to look through the Tract Society, our own university publications, and finally through my private library, even giving him my wife's medical books. The eunuch said that he dared not return a single day without taking back something new, though it were nothing but a sheet tract. Not long after the *coup d'état*, a man came to me, and, kneeling, begged me to save his life and let him join the Church, saying that he was a friend of this book-buying eunuch, who, he said, had been banished by the Dowager, and he was himself in danger of losing his head.

It was during the time the Emperor was thus engaged in the study of foreign affairs that the young scholars of the Empire organized a Reform Club in Peking for the promotion of foreign learning, and subscribed and sent for all the leading newspapers and magazines of both Europe and America. It was hoped that these young men would be an element in China which would bring about a reformation similar to that brought about in Japan. Nor is this hope entirely abandoned either by those who know them or by the young scholars themselves; for though at present they have all lost their official positions, they are continuing their foreign studies and preparing themselves for a time, which will soon come, let us hope, when the Empire will begin a movement which will not end until the richness of its resources and the quality of its people shall have been realized by the Western world.

The Emperor then began to issue a series of reform edicts, the most remarkable that have ever been issued, perhaps, by any ruler in any country in the same length of time. Grant that they were too hasty, it must be admitted by every careful student of them that there is not one that would not have been of the greatest possible benefit to the country if they had been properly put into operation. Let me summarize them:

1. The establishment of a university at Peking.

2. The sending of Imperial Clansmen to foreign countries to study the forms and conditions of European and American government.

3. The encouragement of art, science, and modern agriculture.

4. The Emperor expressed himself as willing to hear the objections of the conservatives to progress and reform.

5. Abolished the literary essay as a prominent part of the governmental examinations.

6. Censured those who attempted to delay the establishment of the Peking Imperial University.

7. Urged that the Lee-Han railway should be carried on with more vigor and expedition.

8. Advised the adoption of Western arms and drill for all the Tartar troops.

9. Ordered the establishment of agricultural schools in the provinces to teach the farmers improved methods of agriculture.

10. Ordered the introduction of patent and copyright laws.

11. The Board of War and the Foreign Office were ordered to report on the reform of the military examinations.

12. Special rewards were offered to inventors and authors.

13. The officials were ordered to encourage trade and assist merchants.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

14. School boards were ordered established in every city in the Empire.

15. A Bureau of Mines and Railroads was established.

16. Journalists were encouraged to write on all political subjects.

17. Naval academies and training-ships were ordered.

18. The ministers and provincial authorities were called upon to assist the Emperor in his work of reform.

19. Schools were ordered in connection with all the Chinese legations in foreign countries for the benefit of the children of Chinese in those countries.

20. Commercial bureaus were ordered in Shanghai for the encouragement of trade.

21. Six utterly useless Boards in Peking were abolished.

22. The right to memorialize the Throne by sealed memorials was granted to all who desired to do so.

23. Two presidents and four vice-presidents of the Board of Rites were dismissed for disobeying the Emperor's orders that memorials should be presented to him unopened.

24. The governorships of Hupeh, Kuangtung, and Yunnan were abolished as being a useless expense to the country.

25. Schools for instruction in the preparation of tea and silk were ordered established.

26. The slow courier posts were abolished in favor of the Imperial Customs Post.

27. A system of budgets as in Western countries was approved.

I have given these decrees in this epitomized form so that all those who are interested in the character of this reform movement in China may see the influence the young Emperor's study had upon him. There is not one of the decrees that would not have been a most useful move for the Chinese Government to make; and if the Emperor had been allowed to proceed, putting into operation all of them, as he did some, China would at present be close upon the heels of Japan in the adoption of Western ideas.

It must not be supposed that these were simply decrees and that nothing was accomplished. The Peking and Nanking Universities are in operation, not as unrestricted as they might have been had the Emperor been allowed to proceed in his own way, but still they are active and living. The Imperial Customs Post is about as good as the postal system of any other country. The Bureau of Mines is employing Western engineers and making an effort to open up the country. Naval academies are in operation, and a host of young men are still quietly going on with their studies both in China and in other countries, hoping that the time will come when the knowledge they are now acquiring may be used in the development of the country they love as ardently and patriotically as we love ours. Indeed, it is one characteristic of these young reformers that they develop a patriotism which is akin to that of the West.

The extent of this reform movement it is not easy to estimate, and what will be the result is not easy to predict. It was this movement that opened up the intensely anti-foreign Province of Hupeh, and transformed it into a province where railroads are to be built connecting the north with the south. It is opening up the great mining province of Shansi and the lumber region of Manchuria. It is starting railroads which will be the great thoroughfares from north to south and the great lines of trade for the whole Empire. That a large proportion of the people understand that foreign countries are constantly talking about the division of China is evident from the fact that, in the first place, the Chinese are the greatest gossips in the world, and in the absence of newspapers every one is a reporter; and, in the second place, there are newspapers published in all the ports which are circulated throughout a large part of the Empire.

The result of the present uprising and foreign complications it is impossible to predict. It might be one of two things: First, the Empire may be divided, which is very unlikely. Russia has indicated no desire to have it divided; all she wants is a controlling influence in the north. Great Britain, America, Japan, and Germany have no desire for a division, and so, as I think, there is no probability of division. The second thing that might happen is the overthrow of the conservative party and the Empress Dowager, and the restoring to power of the conservative party under some able leader, which is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Georgia's Ruling

By O. Henry

Author of "Whistling Dick's Christmas," etc., etc.

IF you should chance to visit the General Land Office, step into the draughtsmen's room and ask to be shown the map of Salado County. A leisurely German—possibly old Kampfer himself—will bring it to you. It will be four feet square, on heavy drawing-cloth. The lettering and the figures will be beautifully clear and distinct. The title will be in splendid, undecipherable German text, ornamented with classic Teutonic designs—very likely Ceres or Pomona leaning against the initial letters with cornucopias venting grapes and wieners. You must tell him that this is not the map you wish to see; that he will kindly bring you its official predecessor. He will then say, "Ach, so!" and bring out a map half the size of the first, dim, old, tattered, and faded.

By looking carefully near its northwest corner you will presently come upon the worn contours of Chiquito River, and, maybe, if your eyes are good, discern the silent witness to this story.

The Commissioner of the Land Office was of the old style; his antique courtesy was too formal for his day. He dressed in fine black, and there was a suggestion of Roman drapery in his long coat-skirts. His collars were "undetached" (blame haberdashery for the word); his tie was a narrow, funereal strip, tied in the same knot as were his shoe-strings. His gray hair was a trifle too long behind, but he kept it smooth and orderly. His face was clean-shaven, like the old statesmen's. Most people thought it a stern face, but when its official expression was off, a few had seen altogether a different countenance. Especially tender and gentle it had appeared to those who were about him during the last illness of his only child.

The Commissioner had been a widower for years, and his life, outside his official duties, had been so devoted to little Georgia that people spoke of it as a touching and admirable thing. He was a reserved man, and dignified almost to austerity, but the child had come below it all and rested upon his very heart, so that she scarcely missed the mother's love that had been taken away. There was a wonderful companionship between them, for she had many of his own ways, being thoughtful and serious beyond her years.

One day, while she was lying with the fever burning brightly in her cheeks, she said, suddenly:

"Papa, I wish I could do something good for a whole lot of children!"

"What would you like to do, dear?" asked the Commissioner. "Give them a party?"

"Oh, I don't mean those kind. I mean poor children who haven't homes, and aren't loved and cared for as I am. I tell you what, papa!"

"What, my own child?"

"If I shouldn't get well, I'll leave them you—not *give* you, but just lend you, for you must come to mamma and me when you die too. If you can find time, wouldn't you do something to help them, if I ask you, papa?"

"Hush, hush, dear, dear child," said the Commissioner, holding her hot little hand against his cheek; "you'll get well real soon, and you and I will see what we can do for them together."

But in whatsoever paths of benevolence, thus vaguely premeditated, that the Commissioner might tread, he was not to have the company of his beloved. That night the little frail body grew suddenly too tired to struggle further, and Georgia's exit was made from the great stage when she had scarcely begun to speak her little piece before the footlights. But there must be a stage manager who understands. She had given the cue to the one who was to speak after her.

A week after she was laid away, the Commissioner reappeared at the Office, a little more courteous, a little paler and sterner, with the black frock-coat hanging a little more loosely from his tall figure.

His desk was piled with work that had accumulated during the four heartbreaking

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

weeks of his absence. His chief clerk had done what he could, but there were questions of law, of fine judicial decisions to be made concerning the issue of patents, the marketing and leasing of school lands, the classification into grazing, agricultural, watered, and timbered, of new tracts to be opened to settlers.

The Commissioner went to work silently and obstinately, putting back his grief as far as possible, forcing his mind to attack the complicated and important business of his office. On the second day after his return he called the porter, pointed to a leather-covered chair that stood near his own, and ordered it removed to a lumber-room at the top of the building. In that chair Georgia would always sit when she came to the Office for him of afternoons.

As time passed, the Commissioner seemed to grow more silent, solitary, and reserved. A new phase of mind developed in him. He could not endure the presence of a child. Often when a clattering youngster belonging to one of the clerks would come chattering into the big business-room adjoining his little apartment, the Commissioner would steal softly and close the door He would always cross the street to avoid meeting the school-children when they came dancing along in happy groups upon the sidewalk, and his firm mouth would close into a mere line.

It was nearly three months after the rains had washed the last dead flower-petals from the mound above little Georgia when the "land-shark" firm of Hamlin and Avery filed papers upon what they considered the "fattest" vacancy of the year.

It should not be supposed that all who were termed "land-sharks" deserved the name. Many of them were reputable men of good business character. Some of them could walk into the most august councils of the State and say: "Gentlemen, we would like to have this, and that, and matters go thus." But, next to a three years' drought and the boll-worm, the Actual Settler hated the Land-shark. The land-shark haunted the Land Office, where all the land records were kept, and hunted "vacancies"—that is, tracts of unappropriated public domain, generally invisible upon the official maps, but actually existing "upon the ground." The law entitled any one possessing certain State scrip to file by virtue of same upon any land not previously legally appropriated. Most of the scrip was now in the hands of the land-sharks. Thus, at the cost of a few hundred dollars, they often secured lands worth as many thousands. Naturally, the search for "vacancies" was lively.

But often—very often—the land they thus secured, though legally "unappropriated," would be occupied by happy and contented settlers, who had labored for years to build up their homes, only to discover that their titles were worthless, and to receive peremptory notice to quit. Thus came about the bitter and not unjustifiable hatred felt by the toiling settlers toward the shrewd and seldom merciful speculators who so often turned them forth destitute and homeless from their fruitless labors. The history of the State teems with their antagonism. Mr. Land-shark seldom showed his face on "locations" from which he should have to eject the unfortunate victims of a monstrously tangled land system, but let his emissaries do the work. There was lead in every cabin, molded into balls for him; many of his brothers had enriched the grass with their blood. The fault of it all lay far back.

When the State was young, she felt the need of attracting newcomers, and of rewarding those pioneers already within her borders. Year after year she issued land scrip—Headrights, Bounties, Veteran Donations, Confederates; and to railroads, irrigation companies, colonies, and tillers of the soil galore. All required of the grantee was that he or it should have the scrip properly surveyed upon the public domain by the county or district surveyor, and the land thus appropriated became the property of him or it, or his or its heirs and assigns, forever.

In those days—and here is where the trouble began—the State's domain was practically inexhaustible, and the old surveyors, with princely—yea, even Western American—liberality, gave good measure and overflowing. Often the jovial man of metes and bounds would dispense altogether with the tripod and chain. Mounted on a pony that could cover something near a "vara" at a step, with a pocket compass to direct his course, he would

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trot out a survey by counting the beat of his pony's hoofs, mark his corners, and write out his field notes with the complacency produced by an act of duty well performed. Sometimes—and who could blame the surveyor?—when the pony was "feeling his oats," he might step a little higher and farther, and in that case the beneficiary of the scrip might get a thousand or two more acres in his survey than the scrip called for. But look at the boundless leagues the State had to spare! However, no one ever had to complain of the pony understepping. Nearly every old survey in the State contained an excess of land.

In later years, when the State became more populous, and land values increased, this careless work entailed incalculable trouble, endless litigation, a period of riotous land-grabbing, and no little bloodshed. The land-sharks voraciously attacked these excesses in the old surveys, and filed upon such portions with new scrip as unappropriated public domain. Wherever the identifications of the old tracts were vague, and the corners were not to be clearly established, the Land Office would recognize the newer locations as valid, and issue title to the locators. Here was the greatest hardship to be found. These old surveys, taken from the pick of the land, were already nearly all occupied by unsuspecting and peaceful settlers, and thus their titles were demolished, and the choice was placed before them either to buy their land over at a double price or to vacate it, with their families and personal belongings, immediately. Land locators sprang up by hundreds. The country was held up and searched for "vacancies" at the point of a compass. Hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of splendid acres were wrested from their innocent purchasers and holders. There began a vast hegira of evicted settlers in tattered wagons; going nowhere, cursing injustice, stunned, purposeless, homeless, hopeless. Their children began to look up to them for bread, and cry.

It was in consequence of these conditions that Hamilton and Avery had filed upon a strip of land about a mile wide and three miles long, comprising about two thousand acres, it being the excess over complement of the Elias Denny three-league survey on Chiquito River, in one of the middle-western counties. This two-thousand-acre body of land was asserted by them to be vacant land, and improperly considered a part of the Denny survey. They based this assertion and their claim upon the land upon the demonstrated facts that the beginning corner of the Denny survey was plainly identified; that its field notes called to run west 5,760 varas, and then called for Chiquito River; thence it ran south, with the meanders—and so on—and that the Chiquito River was, on the ground, fully a mile farther west from the point reached by course and distance. To sum up: there were two thousand acres of vacant land between the Denny survey proper and Chiquito River.

One sweltering day in July the Commissioner called for the papers in connection with this new location. They were brought, and heaped, a foot deep, upon his desk—field notes, statements, sketches, affidavits, connecting lines—documents of every description that shrewdness and money could call to the aid of Hamlin and Avery.

The firm was pressing the Commissioner to issue a patent upon their location. They possessed inside information concerning a new railroad that would probably pass somewhere near this land.

The General Land Office was very still while the Commissioner was delving into the heart of the mass of evidence. The pigeons could be heard on the roof of the old, castle-like building, cooing and fretting. The clerks were droning everywhere, scarcely pretending to earn their salaries. Each little sound echoed hollow and loud from the bare, stone-flagged floors, the plastered walls, and the iron-joisted ceiling. The impalpable, perpetual limestone dust that never settled, whitened a long streamer of sunlight that pierced the tattered window-awning.

It seemed that Hamlin and Avery had builded well. The Denny survey was carelessly made, even for a careless period. Its beginning corner was identical with that of a well-defined old Spanish grant, but its other calls were sinfully vague. The field notes contained no other object that survived—no tree, no natural object save Chiquito River, and it was a mile wrong there. According to precedent, the Office would be justified in giving it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its complement by course and distance, and considering the remainder vacant instead of a mere excess.

The Actual Settler was besieging the Office with wild protests *in re*. Having the nose of a pointer and the eye of a hawk for the land-shark, he had observed his myrmidons running the lines upon his ground. Making inquiries, he learned that the spoiler had attacked his home, and he left the plow in the furrow and took his pen in hand.

One of the protests the Commissioner read twice. It was from a woman, a widow, the granddaughter of Elias Denny himself. She told how her grandfather had sold most of the survey years before at a trivial price—land that was now a principality in extent and value. Her mother had also sold a part, and she herself had succeeded to this western portion, along Chiquito River. Much of it she had been forced to part with in order to live, and now she owned only about three hundred acres, on which she had her home. Her letter wound up rather pathetically:

"I've got eight children, the oldest fifteen years. I work all day and half the night to till what little land I can and keep us in clothes and books. I teach my children too. My neighbors is all poor and has big families. The drouth kills the crops every two or three years and then we has hard times to get enough to eat. There is ten families on this land what the land-sharks is trying to rob us of, and all of them got titles from me. I sold to them cheap, and they aint paid out yet, but part of them is, and if their land should be took from them I would die. My grandfather was an honest man, and he helped to build up this State, and he taught his children to be honest, and how could I make it up to them who bought from me? Mr. Commissioner, if you let them land-sharks take the roof from over my children and the little from them as they has to live on, whoever again calls this State great or its government just will have a lie in their mouths."

The Commissioner laid this letter aside with a sigh. Many, many such letters he had received. He had never been hurt by them, nor had he ever felt that they appealed to him personally. He was but the State's servant, and must follow its laws. And yet, somehow, this reflection did not always eliminate a certain responsible feeling that hung upon him. Of all the State's officers he was supremest in his department, not even excepting the Governor. Broad, general land laws he followed, it was true, but he had a wide latitude in particular ramifications. Rather than law, what he followed was Rulings; Office Rulings and precedents. In the complicated and new questions that were being engendered by the State's development the Commissioner's ruling was rarely appealed from. Even the courts sustained it when its equity was apparent.

The Commissioner stepped to the door and spoke to a clerk in the other room—spoke as he always did, as if he were addressing a prince of the blood:

"Mr. Weldon, will you be kind enough to ask Mr. Ashe, the State school land appraiser, to please come to my office as soon as convenient?"

Ashe came quickly from the big table where he was arranging his reports.

"Mr. Ashe," said the Commissioner, "you worked along the Chiquito River, in Salado County, during your last trip, I believe. Do you remember anything of the Elias Denny three-league survey?"

"Yes, sir, I do," the blunt, breezy surveyor answered. "I crossed it on my way to Block H, on the north side of it. The road runs with the Chiquito River, along the valley. The Denny survey fronts three miles on the Chiquito."

"It is claimed," continued the Commissioner, "that it fails to reach the river by as much as a mile."

The appraiser shrugged his shoulder. He was by birth and instinct an Actual Settler, and the natural foe of the land-shark.

"It has always been considered to extend to the river," he said, dryly.

"But that is not the point I desired to discuss," said the Commissioner. "What kind of country is this valley portion of (let us say, then) the Denny tract?"

The spirit of the Actual Settler beamed in Ashe's face.

"Beautiful," he said, with enthusiasm. "Valley as level as this floor, with just a little swell on, like the sea, and rich as cream. Just enough brakes to shelter the cattle in winter. Black loamy soil for six feet, and then clay. Holds water. A

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dozen nice little houses on it, with windmills and gardens. People pretty poor, I guess—too far from market—but comfortable. Never saw so many kids in my life."

"They raise flocks?" inquired the Commissioner.

"Ho, ho! I mean two-legged kids," laughed the surveyor; "two-legged, and bare-legged, and tow-headed."

"Children! oh, children!" mused the Commissioner, as though a new view had opened to him; "they raise children!"

"It's a lonesome country, Commissioner," said the surveyor. "Can you blame 'em?"

"I suppose," continued the Commissioner, slowly, as one carefully pursues deductions from a new, stupendous theory, "not all of them are tow-headed. It would not be unreasonable, Mr. Ashe, I conjecture, to believe that a portion of them have brown, or even black, hair."

"Brown and black, sure," said Ashe; "also red."

"No doubt," said the Commissioner. "Well, I thank you for your courtesy in informing me, Mr. Ashe. I will not detain you any longer from your duties."

Later, in the afternoon, came Hamlin and Avery, big, handsome, genial, sauntering men, clothed in white duck and low-cut shoes. They permeated the whole office with an aura of debonair prosperity. They passed among the clerks and left a wake of abbreviated given names and fat brown cigars.

These were the aristocracy of the land-sharks, who went in for big things. Full of serene confidence in themselves, there was no corporation, no syndicate, no railroad company or attorney-general, too big for them to tackle. The peculiar smoke of their rare, fat brown cigars was to be perceived in the sanctum of every department of State, in every committee-room of the Legislature, in every bank parlor and every private caucus-room in the State Capital. Always pleasant, never in a hurry, seeming to possess unlimited leisure, people wondered when they gave their attention to the many audacious enterprises in which they were known to be engaged.

By and by the two dropped carelessly into the Commissioner's room and reclined lazily in the big, leather-upholstered armchairs. They drawled a good-natured complaint of the weather, and Hamlin told the Commissioner an excellent story he had amassed that morning from the Secretary of State.

But the Commissioner knew why they were there. He had half promised to render a decision that day upon their location.

The chief clerk now brought in a batch of duplicate certificates for the Commissioner to sign. As he traced his sprawling signature, "Hollis Summerfield, Comr. Genl. Land Office," on each one, the chief clerk stood, deftly removing them and applying the blotter.

"I notice," said the chief clerk, "you've been going through that Salado County location. Kampfer is making a new map of Salado, and I believe is platting in that section of the county now."

"I will see it," said the Commissioner. A few moments later he went to the draughtsmen's room.

As he entered he saw five or six of the draughtsmen grouped about Kampfer's desk, gargling away at each other in pectoral German, and gazing at something thereupon. At the Commissioner's approach they scattered to their several places. Kampfer, a wizened little German, with long, frizzled ringlets and a watery eye, began to stammer forth some sort of an apology, the Commissioner thought for the congregation of his fellows about his desk.

"Never mind," said the Commissioner, "I wish to see the map you are making," and, passing around the old German, seated himself upon the high draughtsman's stool. Kampfer continued to break English in trying to explain.

"Herr Gommissioner, I assure you blenty sat I haf not it bremeditated—sat it wass—sat it itself make. Look you! from se field notes wass it blatted—blease to observe se calls: South, 10° west 1,050 varas; south, 10° east 300 varas; south, 100; south, 9; west, 200; south, 40° west 400—und so on. Herr Gommissioner, nefer would I have—"

The Commissioner raised one white hand, silently. Kampfer dropped his pipe and fled.

With a hand at each side of his face, and his elbows resting upon the desk, the Commissioner sat staring at the map which was spread and fastened there—

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

staring at the sweet and living profile of little Georgia drawn thereupon—at her face, pensive, delicate, and infantile, outlined in a perfect likeness.

When his mind at length came to inquire into the reason of it, he saw that it must have been, as Kampfer had said, unpremeditated. The old draughtsman had been platting in the Elias Denny survey, and Georgia's likeness, striking though it was, was formed by nothing more than the meanders of Chiquito River. Indeed, Kampfer's blotter, whereon his preliminary work was done, showed the laborious tracings of the calls and the countless pricks of the compasses. Then, over his faint penciling, Kampfer had drawn in India ink with a full, firm pen the similitude of Chiquito River, and forth had blossomed mysteriously the dainty, pathetic profile of the child.

The Commissioner sat for half an hour with his face in his hands, gazing downward, and none dared approach him. Then he arose and walked out. In the business office he paused long enough to ask that the Denny file be brought to his desk.

He found Hamlin and Avery still reclining in their chairs, apparently oblivious of business. They were lazily discussing summer opera, it being their habit—perhaps their pride also—to appear supernaturally indifferent whenever they stood with large interests imperiled. And they stood to win more on this stake than most people knew. They possessed inside information to the effect that a new railroad would, within a year, split this very Chiquito River valley and send land values ballooning all along its route. A dollar under thirty thousand profit on this location, if it should hold good, would be a loss to their expectations. So, while they chatted lightly and waited for the Commissioner to open the subject, there was a quick, sidelong sparkle in their eyes, evincing a desire to read their title clear to those fair acres on the Chiquito.

A clerk brought in the file. The Commissioner seated himself and wrote upon it in red ink. Then he rose to his feet and stood for a while looking straight out of the window. The Land Office capped the summit of a bold hill. The eyes of the Commissioner passed over the roofs of many houses set in a packing of deep green, the whole checkered by strips of blinding white streets. The horizon, where his gaze was focused, swelled to a fair wooded eminence flecked with faint dots of shining white. There was the ceme ery, where lay many who were forgotten, and a few who had not lived in vain. And one lay there, occupying very small space, whose childish heart had been large enough to desire, while near its last beats, good to others. The Commissioner's lips moved slightly as he whispered to himself: "It was her last will and testament, and I have neglected it so long!"

The big brown cigars of Hamlin and Avery were fireless, but they still gripped them between their teeth and waited, while they marveled at the absent expression upon the Commissioner's face.

By and by he spoke suddenly and promptly.

"Gentlemen, I have just indorsed the Elias Denny survey for patenting. This office will not regard your location upon a part of it as legal." He paused a moment, and then, extending his hand as those dear old-time ones used to do in debate, he enunciated the spirit of that Ruling that subsequently drove the landsharks to the wall, and placed the seal of peace and security over the doors of ten thousand homes.

"And, furthermore," he continued, with a clear, soft light upon his face, "it may interest you to know that from this time on this Office will consider that when a survey of land made by virtue of a certificate granted by this State to the men who wrested it from the wilderness and the savage—made in good faith, settled in good faith, and left in good faith to their children or innocent purchasers—when such a survey, although overrunning its complement, shall call for any natural object visible to the eye of man, to that object it shall hold, and be good and valid. And the children of this State shall lie down to sleep at night, and rumors of disturbers of title shall not disquiet them. For," concluded the Commissioner, "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

In the silence that followed, a laugh floated up from the patent-room below. The man who carried down the Denny file was exhibiting it among the clerks.

"Look here," he said, delightedly, "the old man has forgotten his name. He's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

written 'Patent to original grantee,' and signed it 'Georgia Summerfield, Comr.'"

The speech of the Commissioner rebounded lightly from the impregnable Hamlin and Avery. They smiled, rose gracefully, spoke of the baseball team, and argued feelingly that quite a perceptible breeze had arisen from the east. They lit fresh fat brown cigars, and drifted courteously away. But later they made another tiger-spring for their quarry in the courts. But the courts, according to reports in the papers, "coolly roasted them" (a remarkable performance, suggestive of liquid-air didoes), and sustained the Commissioner's Ruling.

And this Ruling itself grew to be a Precedent, and the Actual Settler framed it, and taught his children to spell from it, and there was sound sleep o' nights from the pines to the sage-brush, and from the chaparral to the great brown river of the north.

But I think, and I am sure the Commissioner never thought otherwise, that whether Kampfer was a snuffy old instrument of destiny, or whether the meanders of the Chiquito accidentally platted themselves into that memorable sweet profile or not, there was brought about "something good for a whole lot of children," and the result ought to be called "Georgia's Ruling."

A Hopeful View of Democracy[1]

AS we face the growing complications of civilization, it is difficult to resist a feeling of dismay at the new problems which press forward for solution; the physical conditions of American life are such that changes which once took centuries run forward in a decade. Since 1815 there have been three transformations of the transportation of the country: first, from roads to canals and waterways; then to the old-fashioned railroad; and then to the solidly constructed trunk lines of the present day. It took half a century to introduce steam as a motive-power into Great Britain; but in five years the electric trolley went from one end of the Union to the other. As a part of this rapidity of life, questions are coming upon legislatures, judges, and patriotic men, which must be settled, and yet which there is no time thoroughly to consider. Thus the telephone grew up, extended, and became a necessity before the American Government realized that it could be made a public service; and industrial organization constantly outruns the legislation made to limit it.

So bewildering, so rapid, are the changes in our social appliances that in a book like Wells's "The Sleeper Awakened," with its dream of a tremendous and self-destructive over-organization of society, the reader sees figured before him apprehensions which he has only vaguely entertained. When it comes to political and social changes, future generations will look back upon the present half-century as one of the most stirring moments in the history of mankind; the maps of Europe, Asia, and Africa have been remade; the great Nation of North America has been re-created; and among the nations of the earth the United States surges forward to take its place as one of the three or four aggregations of human forces which are to determine the history of the future.

A hopeful thing in the midst of these turmoils is the clearness and speediness with which thinking men realize, face, and study the problems before them. Our own Civil War involved questions of principle upon which the best men of the time had put all their might of mind, yet we now see that the country drifted into civil war without realizing the conditions of the time, or the passions which were to be awakened. Any one who compares the contemporary literature at that crisis with the writings of to-day must be struck with the influence which trained as well as powerful minds are having upon the destiny of mankind. Professor Giddings's book is a welcome evidence that others besides publicists, historians, and editorial writers are contributing to that discussion, so necessary for a new series of questions; that there is arising a new school of writers who treat the State, not as the physical

[1] *Democracy and Empire.* With Studies of Their Psychological, Economic, and Moral Foundations. By Franklin H. Giddings. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

embodiment of a constitution or system of laws, but as made up of men subject to the influences of passion and of self-interest—influences both good and bad; writers who attempt to disentangle the real forces which animate the minds of American people.

The title of Professor Giddings's book, "Democracy and Empire," is a happy coupling of two of the largest problems which now confront the American people and must be solved: the question of the future of American democracy, and the question of the future of the American Republic in all its present and potential territorial extent. The author's service is the well-thought study of three questions which lie at the bottom of the double problem: first, the motives of democracy, its ideals, its hopes, its standards; in the second place, how this spirit of democracy has been applied to great internal questions, especially those of labor, of transportation, and of trusts; and, in the third place, how the motives thus exemplified are likely to act upon questions of our colonial and external relations.

For a work of this kind Professor Giddings has a special fitness. Long a journalist, and at the same time a close student of sociological literature, he laid a foundation of acquaintance with his countrymen which makes it possible for him intelligently to generalize; then for years a professor of sociology, he has sought to limit and bound that unconfined subject, and to separate out those phenomena which seem vital to the social organization. Professor Giddings's psychology, as all the world knows, is at bottom founded upon ethics, not as an artificial system, but as a kind of practical average of the ethics of individuals. Here, as in all his work, and notably in this book, it has been his aim, not to describe things as they ought to be or may be some time, but as he actually finds them. How far he successfully portrays the National character is a question which every observer must answer for himself, for no two men have the same experience of individuals or of classes, at least he does not argue from any abstract principles of American liberty; he takes democracy as he finds it, with its hard and sometimes sordid features, as well as its generosity, and he goes forward with a great enthusiasm and a great belief in the righteous purposes of his countrymen, which cannot fail to carry the reader forward into the realm of hope, if not of satisfaction.

Mechanically, this book is a reprint of essays delivered and printed at various times; but it is not a mere jail-delivery of magazine articles taken from their pigeonholes; Professor Giddings has dealt first with one problem and then with another; but when he has come to assemble his articles, it is seen that he has been fighting all along the line, and that he has a coherent purpose.

The first great question which Professor Giddings discusses is substantially the effect of democracy, and the titles of several of his essays at once show his point of view—"The Federal Motive," "The Mind of the Many," "Some Results of the Freedom of Women," "The Destinies of Democracy," "The Shadow and the Substance of Republican Government," "The Nature and Conduct of Political Majorities." It is not necessary to discuss these essays one by one, but it may be serviceable to draw out from them the doctrine of the writer. It is in effect μήδεν ἀγάν, moderation of action. "Reason alone," says he, "can enable men to perceive the true nature of moral authority." In the two essays on education he dwells upon the importance of training people to think accurately for themselves. When it comes to collecting the opinion of a vast body of persons, he brings out his familiar theory of the association of men of "like-mindedness," and he points out the fact that the best-governed communities in the history of mankind have been made up of men who were reasonably homogeneous. As for the future of America, he holds that it can be made homogeneous by acceptance, by men of various races who have come among us, of a common standard, which will probably be a liberalized and genial Puritanism; and Professor Giddings's optimism is justified so far as like-mindedness really brings safety to a nation. How far our present political system actually reflects the opinion of the people is the subject of discussion in the two essays on "Political Majorities" and "The Destinies of Democracy." We are beginning to discover in this country that election by pluralities, or even by majorities of the persons voting,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

does not necessarily express the average opinion of all the voters, nor the personal preference of those who cast their votes. We begin to understand that majority rule is, after all, a convenient device for establishing a law which the average public sentiment does not think it worth while to resist—that our government is one of consent rather than of assent.

Professor Giddings constantly brings out the danger of stampeding a democracy by sudden waves of emotion or of sentiment, as well as by an appeal to the passions and love of domination. Upon the whole, the purpose of these deeply thoughtful essays is to throw out the things which really do not count, and to come down to the actual motives which appeal to the average man; and the general effect is to strengthen one's confidence in the institutions of one's country. Professor Giddings cannot help encountering that terror of all critics of American government, the political boss. This is not the place to discuss bossism, which in many cases is the worst kind of tyranny—the voluntary submission of intelligent men in order that they may obtain small advantages to themselves and none for their country; but Professor Giddings does not seem clearly to recognize that leadership is the only salvation of a democracy so great that its members cannot recognize one another. The boss has come to the front, not simply because he offers rewards and punishments, but because experience shows that in the whirlpool of contrary interests and desires nothing can be accomplished except through a small body of persons to whom democracy intrusts power.

The second subject of Professor Giddings's book is a discussion of the relation of democracy to the internal problems of the American Republic. This includes a very interesting and thoughtful essay on the "Costs of Progress," in which the author faces the difficulties which come from a lack of adjustment of the parts of the community, even in a real advance. "Growth of population," says he, "brought men into the world for whom there are places enough, and more than enough, but no places already allotted to them in the social order." One after another he examines the possible remedies for social disconnection, especially socialism; and the positive remedies which he suggests are four: first, "the regulation of international migration;" second, "the regulation of those industries in which free competition displaces better men by inferior;" third, "extending compulsory education;" fourth, "every tramp within the borders of civilization should be placed under arrest and put at severe and enforced labor under public direction."

Space is lacking to consider the application of Professor Giddings's principles of individual right and public service to the great questions of education, of industrial combination, and of railroads. It may be summed up in a pair of quotations: "The trust should be dispassionately regarded, and calmly studied as a form of organization which is powerful for both good and evil; and it should then be held by the public to the same moral responsibility to do good rather than evil which the common conscience of mankind imposes upon the individual." "The one thing reasonably certain is that, either by regulation or by State ownership, the State will play an increasing part in railroad affairs. There will be no return to the wholly unregulated private management of former years."

In his mind the present forms of industrial organization, while in many respects faulty, unbalanced, and ill-regulated, correspond to the needs of mankind, and may be expected to continue far into the future.

What of Professor Giddings's expectations of the future, and especially of the result of territorial expansion? First of all, he is a sincere believer in the permanence of democratic institutions, not only in the United States, but throughout Western civilization. In the first and the last of his essays, and also in the careful discussion of Lecky's "Democracy and Liberty," Professor Giddings holds, first of all, that democracy may be depended upon in the long run to be affected by reason and allegiance to worthy leaders; that the ideals of democracy include a high conception of the right of the individual; that the average American is not a materialist, but is curiously, and sometimes dangerously, affected by sentiment; that American democracy, notwithstanding its coming homogeneity, will still permit those divergencies which make individual action possible. If he is indeed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a prophet, then we may well take heart, for the serious question of the future is, Will American democracy remain kindly, will it have the imagination necessary to understand members of its own community who differ from their fellows, and especially to understand alien races? Above all, will it control itself and its leaders, and keep out of that abyss of fierce struggles between the personal followings of ambitious leaders into which have fallen all the earlier republics?

Never since the Roman Republic has there been such an experiment as is now being tried by two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race—the government of a widely distributed and various empire by the representatives of a democracy. Roman freedom was crushed by the weight of its own conquests, but Rome was what Holland was for two centuries, a small center ruling a great colonial empire. It is Professor Giddings's conviction that the American ideals of government are consonant with a broad rule under a great democracy; that the American people, notwithstanding the great difficulties of race elements, is substantially one in aim and standards; that the administrative difficulties of dependencies can be surmounted.

Although, in the essay on "The Consent of the Governed," Professor Giddings works out a moral justification for a colonial policy, it cannot be said that he argues away the most serious danger of imperialism, the oppression of dependent races. Has the experience of the United States in dealing with inferior races given any guaranty that it can with wisdom control and with understanding elevate our new subjects? The Indian problem is three centuries old, and the Indians are dying out before we have learned how to civilize them; the problem of the negro race has engaged the thought of America's greatest statesmen since the Revolution, and the Nation as a Nation has given it up in despair; the Chinese we have never been able either to like or to tolerate; and now we are responsible for thousands more of them. Fortunately, we have one object-lesson, the experience of our blood-brethren, the English, who of all races have the least personal sympathy with weak and dark-skinned races, and yet have known how to establish a realm of justice and a rule of law. Of all countries in the world, England is, next to the United States, the most truly democratic; in the English rule we have a safe combination of Democracy and Empire; and one of the cheering notes of Professor Giddings's book is his confidence that we shall not be less just or less successful than our nearest neighbor.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. The absence of comment in this department in many cases indicates that extended review will be made at a later date. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

All He Knew. By John Habberton. Edwin S. Gorham, New York. 5×7¼ in. 197 pages. $1.

American Inventions and Inventors. By William A. Mowry, A.M., Ph.D., and Arthur May Mowry, A.M. Illustrated. 5½×7¼ in. 298 pages. $1.

Art in Needlework. By Lewis F. Day. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4¾×7¼ in. 262 pages. $2.50.

A well-planned and practical book on ornamental design.

America's Working People. By Charles B. Spahr. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 261 pages. $1.25.

This volume presents in book form the papers which have appeared in The Outlook under the same title. The publisher's part of the present work has been performed with exceptional taste and judgment. The pages are unusually attractive to the eye, and the plain dark-blue binding is well chosen. Inasmuch as the author is a member of the staff of The Outlook, and the papers appeared in our columns prior to their final revision, our readers are in a better position to pass impartial judgment than are the editors. In his preface the author notes the fact that "as compared with previous volumes upon America, the present devotes unusual attention to conditions upon farms and in villages," but he expresses the belief that "if he has erred in his perspective, it is by still allowing too great space to the cities." "He would recall," he says, "that our farms and villages contain three-fifths of our whole people, and three-fourths of our people of American parentage. It is here that the immigrants are most thoroughly assimilated and social institutions most completely dominated by the American spirit."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As Seen by Me. By Lilian Bell. Harper & Bros., New York. 4½×6¾ in. 306 pages. $1.25.

Light and cheerful travel talk by an author who is an adept at just this sort of thing. She has seen men as well as things in her thirty thousand miles of journeying, and anecdote is combined with observation. Decidedly the book is lively, amusing, and shrewd.

Autobiography of Charles H. Spurgeon. Compiled by his Wife and his Private Secretary. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. Vol. IV. 1878–1892. Illustrated. 7½×10½ in. 386 pages. $2.

Banker and the Bear, The. By Henry Kitchell Webster. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×6½ in. 351 pages. $1.50.

Mr. Webster's earlier story, written in collaboration with Mr. Merwin, "The Short Line War," was a very effective account of a fight for the control of a railroad. In this story, with equal directness, Mr. Webster describes a fight for the control of the lard market, with the endeavor to break a bank and the working out of a love story as incidents. The tale is told with simplicity and directness. Its literary quality is not high, but the writer is apparently thoroughly informed in regard to his subject, and knows how to tell a story.

Besieged by the Boers. By E. Oliver Ashe, M.D. Illustrated. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 175 pages. $1.25.

The latest addition to books on the Boer war has two distinguishing characteristics. It is the first book to be written by a physician, and it is the first description of the siege of Kimberley. While Dr. Ashe's descriptions are not so striking as those of the trained newspaper correspondents in South Africa, he gives what none of them have been able to do so far as Kimberley has been concerned, genuinely first-hand information. This is especially true with regard to the description of Mr. Rhodes. In opposition to those who think that Mr. Rhodes's insistence on remaining at Kimberley was an additional inducement for Boer attack, this author declares that it was plucky to stand by a town the diamond-mines of which had made the Rhodes fortune. Dr. Ashe confirms the report that Mr. Rhodes raised his own regiment, the Kimberley Light Horse, and paid for everything out of his own pocket. The portrait of Mr. Rhodes which appears in this volume is by far the most attractive of any yet published. Although the book is not a large one, it contains enough valuable references to have made the addition of an index desirable.

Biblical Treasury of the Catechism. Compiled and Arranged by Rev. Thomas E. Cox. (Second Edition.) William H. Young & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 415 pages. $1.25.

While this is prepared for the uses of the Roman Catholic Church, it will prove a very convenient book of reference for all who wish to know both the doctrines of that Church and the Scriptural evidence that is quoted for them. The fallacy of "proof-texts," for which the Westminster Confession has been often criticised, appears full blown here: *e. g.*, for the statement, "any one in danger of death is allowed to receive communion without fasting," is quoted Luke xxiv., 29: "Stay with us, because it is toward evening, and the day is far spent."

Book of Verses, A. By Robert Loveman. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 4½×7¼ in. 95 pages. $1.50.

Colombian and Venezuelan Republics, The. By William L. Scruggs. With Maps and Illustrations. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5¼×8 in. 350 pages. $2.50.

There are too few descriptive books on South America in general, and on the northern part of that continent in particular. Probably no one is better fitted to write on the Colombian and Venezuelan Republics than is our late Minister to those Republics. His book will easily take rank as an authority. From its immense amount of picturesquely topographical, historical, social, and political information it is likely to become a popular work as well as a valuable reference-book.

David and His Friends. By the Rev. Louis Albert Banks, D.D. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 356 pages. $1.50.

We have already referred to Dr. Banks's "revival sermons" as ranking with the best of their kind. Of the present series, all preached during a series of revival meetings last January in his church at Cleveland, no less can be said. Evangelical, ethical, pointed with apt personal incident and narrative, every one of them is a well-aimed arrow. It is a rare and suggestive illustration of the Gospel in the Old Testament, that they all are based on texts from the books of Samuel and the Psalms.

Devil Unmasked, The. By the Little Deacon. Cooksey Publishing Co., Olney, Ill. 5×7¼ in. 268 pages. $1.

Diplomatic Woman, A. By Huan Mee. Harper & Bros., New York. 4¾×7¼ in. 174 pages. $1.

Distribution of Wealth, The. By John Bates Clark. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. 445 pages. $3.

Divine Enchantment, The. By J. G. Neihardt. James T. White & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 46 pages.

Dwight L. Moody. By Henry Drummond. Introduction by George Adam Smith. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 125 pages. $1.

Elissa, or the Doom of Zimbabwe. By H. Rider Haggard. Illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 4¾×7¼ in. 105 pages. $1.25.

In this volume Mr. Haggard gives us another of his romances of South African myth or history. The city which gives the title to the story is that of a place supposed to have been founded in South Central Africa by the Phœnicians. We believe that Mr. Haggard correctly describes existing ruins; and his fictitious theory of the founding of the mysterious city is as likely to be true as any other on the subject. As a story the tale is somewhat overwritten and improbable. Another story of African life, "Black Heart and White Heart," is added to complete the book.

Expositor's Bible, The. Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Wilbur B. Ketcham, New York. In 6 vols. Vols. I., II., III. 6½×10 in. Pages about 853 per vol.

This well-known work, which The Outlook has occasionally commended in a qualified manner, appears in a new form. Its many volumes have been compressed into six, three

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of which we have received, each of more than eight hundred pages octavo, in good clear print, double-columned. This rearrangement has some obvious advantages, among which is reduced cost. For an expository work it has no superior. At the same time we think it would have been bettered had the editor cared to secure more unity among the contributors. It is a strange discord that one finds between the adherents and the antagonists of the modern school of Biblical criticism; *e.g.*, Dr. Kellogg, on Leviticus, declaring that critical processes like those adopted by his co-laborer, Mr. Harper, on Deuteronomy, reduce the Word of God to a forgery. This is a serious blemish, most observable in the first volume, Genesis–Ruth, in which Deuteronomy alone receives proper critical treatment. This, however, is of secondary importance in a work designed, like this, for a practical, devotional, homiletical exposition of Biblical truths, which are largely independent of critical processes. In the second volume, Samuel–Job, after getting past Samuel, treated by Dr. W. G. Blaikie in archaic style, there is little to criticise and much to commend. The third volume, Psalms–Isaiah, is good all through. Corresponding to the lack of unity in critical method above noticed, there is serious disagreement of the contributors in their ideas of divine inspiration, with the result of discordant views as to miracles and moral difficulties. It is not creditable to the organization of the work when one tears down what another erects, but it is well that the mischievous ultra-orthodoxy which finds occasional expression should have its antidote largely supplied by the saner views of other writers. In general, the Expositor's Bible reflects in its incongruities the characteristics of the modern Church in this period of transition, but its merits must be regarded as largely outweighing its defects.

Foreign Missions of the Protestant Churches. By Stephen L. Baldwin, D.D. Eaton & Mains, New York. 4¾×7 in. 272 pages. $1.

Dr. Baldwin, who had a large part in organizing the recent Ecumenical Conference, has had so long and intimate an acquaintance with missionary movements and results that any work on the subject from his pen is authoritative. In this volume, after briefly treating the principles, conceptions, methods, and qualifications involved, he gives a condensed account of the work of the numerous societies engaged, and supplements it by a summary view in statistical tables to date.

Frau Sorge. By Hermann Sudermann. Introduction and Notes by Gustav Gruener. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 4½×6½ in. 268 pages. 80c.

French Revolution, The. By Thomas Carlyle. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 804 pages. $1.75.

Another well-made and altogether excellent single-volume library edition of Carlyle's great work.

Georgie. By S. E. Kiser. Illustrated. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 4½×6½ in. 225 pages. $1.

Heart's Highway, The. By Mary E. Wilkins. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 308 pages. $1.50.

In this story Miss Wilkins departs radically from her former methods and passes over into the field of adventure at present so industriously worked by a number of effective story-writers. It cannot be said that she carries into the new field the skill and insight which she has shown in the field which properly belongs to her. This story is a *tour de force;* it is not a natural expression of Miss Wilkins's literary genius. It is hardly necessary to say that she has written a readable story, though not so good by any means as several other stories which have appeared during the past few years in this field.

Helbeck of Bannisdale. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 336 pages. Two vols. in one. $1.50.

Hilda Wade. By Grant Allen. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5¼×7½ in. 383 pages. $1.50.

Mr. Grant Allen was at work on this novel when attacked by the illness which resulted in his death. It is said that on his death-bed he was greatly distressed by the fact that the book was to remain unfinished, and was much relieved by the offer of his friend, Dr. Conan Doyle, to carry out his ideas and finish the story. We are, however, obliged to say that, although Dr. Doyle has done his work with deftness, the story, taken as a whole, belongs to the "penny-dreadful" class; it is full of sensationalism, and has little literary quality. Considered purely as an exciting story it will probably rank fairly well among the other stories written by Mr. Allen.

How to Do It: How to Live. By Edward Everett Hale. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 397 pages. $1.50.

Last of the Flatboats, The. By George Cary Eggleston. Lothrop Publishing Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 382 pages. $1.50.

A capital book for boys, relating the adventures of five young Hoosier lads on a voyage down the Mississippi in a flatboat such as were years ago in common use, but have now been altogether abandoned. The author writes from full knowledge of river life in the Far West, and throws light on Western character, Western industry, and Western energy. No doubt some of the incidents of the book are derived from the early life of the author, or of his brother, the author of "The Hoosier Schoolmaster."

Laundry Manual. By L. Ray Balderston and M. C. Limerick. Illustrated. Avil Printing Co., Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. 60 pages. 50c.

Lessons from the Life and Death of D. L. Moody. By Rev. R. A. Torrey. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 32 pages.

Letters to the Farm Boy. By Henry Wallace. (Third Edition.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×6¾ in. 180 pages. $1.

Mr. Wallace has written a volume of very sensible advice to the great body of boys who are so fortunate as to grow up on farms. Many books of this character err by presenting aims which are too close at hand and standards which are too low; others fail by reason of being too abstract and too much out of touch with the people whom they ought to help. The writer of this volume has a very easy and familiar style, but he has thoroughly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sound ideas of life. He travels along the plane of his constituency in his sympathies, his illustrations, and his general method of influence, but he keeps well in advance in the ideals of morality and of personal character. The book is rational and sensible.

Life and Times of Hannibal Hamlin. By his Grandson, Charles Eugene Hamlin. Illustrated. James Pott & Co., New York. 6×9½ in. 627 pages. Published by subscription.

Life of Charlotte Brontë. By Mrs. Gaskell. Introduction by Clement K. Shorter. Illustrated. (The Haworth Edition.) Harper & Bros., New York. Vol. VII. 5¼×8¼ in. 670 pages. $1.75.

Making Rhymes and Other Rhymes. By Edwin P. Haworth. Published by the Author, Garden City, Mo. 4¼×6½ in. 80 pages. 75c.

Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg, and Other Stories and Essays, The. By Mark Twain. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. 5¼×7¾ in. 398 pages. $1.75.

It has been in a certain way Mr. Clemens's misfortune to be known primarily as a humorist rather than as a writer of originality and very considerable literary power, humor being his chief characteristic but by no means his only natural gift. The present volume contains several short stories and a number of miscellaneous essays, some of admirable quality. Mr. Clemens is not critical in regard to his own work; there are many things put in book form which ought to perish with the newspaper or magazine in which they appear. Full comment will be made later on this and other recent works of Mr. Clemens.

Poems, Narrative, Elegiac, and Lyric. By Matthew Arnold. (The Temple Classics. Edited by Israel Gollancz.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 3¾×5¾ in. 277 pages. 50c.

No more fit or acceptable outer form could be given these poems.

Popular Astronomy. By Joel Dorman Steele, Ph.D. Revised by Mabel Loomis Todd. Illustrated. American Book Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. $1.

Poverty Knob. By Sarah Warner Brooks. A. Wessels Co., New York. 4¼×6½ in. 207 pages. $1.25.

This story has all the atmosphere of the Maine coast, and all the delicious nasality of the Yankee dialect spoken thereabouts. If a few details seem unnecessarily realistic, all show that the author has had long experience of the conditions existing in what we are learning more and more to appreciate as a peculiarly picturesque region.

Practice of Typography, The. By Theodore Low De Vinne. Illustrated. The Century Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 403 pages.

An admirable treatise on printing-types, embodying the results of painstaking and discriminating research and study in both early and recent styles of typography. Mr. De Vinne has made a book which every publisher and printer ought to own, and which will be valuable also to authors who are fastidious in the selection of the type in which their books are printed.

Problem of Final Destiny. By William B. Brown, D.D. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5×7½ in. 319 pages. $1.50.

Few men make their largest venture into authorship when past eighty, as Dr. Brown has done in this volume. As the fruit of many years of reflection on one of the hardest doctrines set forth by the creeds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it deserves careful consideration by those who still believe that a part of mankind are destined to suffering without end. The grounds on which Dr. Brown deems that belief untenable, and the reasons for the belief which he holds instead, are set forth fully and persuasively. He cannot accept either Universalism or the doctrine of conditional immortality. He believes that God's redeeming work for sinners goes on in the world to come, and saves multitudes whom the creeds regard as forever lost. But he cannot affirm that none remain incorrigible. If such there be, as he thinks not improbable, they continue to exist, not in torment, but in such depraved and hateful "enjoyments" as are the natural consequences of willful alienation from God. His admission that such an existence may "possibly" wear out and cease seems to us to let in the idea of conditional immortality, as we understand the term. Dr. Brown's argument goes the round of orthodox theology point by point, as bearing on the problem of destiny, and aims to open for conservative minds a Biblically tenable outlet from the terrible conclusions to which they regretfully feel themselves shut up. In other points of eschatology, as the Second Advent, the Resurrection, and the Judgment, Dr. Brown agrees with the increasing number who demand a recasting of traditional and popular beliefs on the line which is frequently drawn in our columns.

Reading of Speech from the Lips. By Mary Hepburn Parsons. The Akerman Co., Providence, R. I. 5¼×6¾ in. 77 pages. 50c.

Reminiscences of the Life and Work of Edward A. Lawrence, Jr. By his Mother, Margaret Woods Lawrence. Illustrated. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 6×8¾ in. 519 pages.

Among the two generations of American pupils who sat at the feet of the holy Tholuck, of Halle, none attracted his regard and love more strongly than Mr. Lawrence. Tholuck said: "When he returns to America, a great ethical light will arise." The prediction did not fail, but early death removed the light behind the veil before it had widely revealed itself. These "Reminiscences" from his mother's pen carry the charm of vital biography in their portrayal of a Christlike man of many-sided attractiveness, in a character whose modesty, simplicity, and purity were united with intellectual strength, scholarly culture, and broadly human sympathies. His chief literary memorial is the volume entitled "Modern Missions in the East," of the first rank among authorities on that subject. More enduring and influential, perhaps, is the "Lawrence Home" in Baltimore, the fruit of his last labors as pastor of the Congregational church in that city, where he fixed his residence among the poor for the offices of a Christian neighbor and friend. He was suddenly called to the activities of the heavenly life. But those who buried the workman and carried on the work have cause to commend to such as would devote their life to the highest ends these reminiscences of one who, "being perfected in a short time, fulfilled a long time."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rise in the World, A. By Adeline Sergeant. F. M. Buckles & Co., New York. 5×7 in. 377 pages. $1.25.

Readers of this interesting picture of London society will perhaps be impressed by the unevenness of its literary merit. Some of the scenes are capitally done; others seem hurriedly sketched, but the author's style is always femininely incisive. Despite a few seeming improbabilities in plot, the story as a whole is one which has in it an inevitable attractiveness, as do all accounts of real rises and progresses in the world.

Second Froggy Fairy Book, The. By Anthony J. Drexel Biddle. Illustrated. (Eighth Thousand.) Drexel Biddle, Philadelphia. 5½×8 in. 127 pages. 50c.

A new edition, with new matter, of this delightful child's book.

Side Lights on English History. Collected and Arranged by Ernest F. Henderson, Ph.D. Illustrated. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 7¼×10¾ in.

Silex Scintillans. By Henry Vaughan. (The Temple Classics. Edited by Israel Gollancz.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 3¾×6 in. 238 pages. 50c.

The text used in this edition is based on the Lyte edition of 1847; and these quaint and beautiful poems are presented in a very compact and convenient form.

Specimens of the Forms of Discourse. Compiled by E. H. Lewis. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 4½×6½ in. 367 pages. 60c.

Spencer and Spencerism. By Hector Macpherson. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 241 pages. $1.25.

"Across the century Adam Smith and Herbert Spencer join hands." The writer of these words, in the monograph on Adam Smith which we noticed a year ago, presents us now with a sketch of Spencer and his work, viewed as placing him "among the sceptered immortals." His "serious limitations," however, in dealing with religion are admitted and ascribed to "lack of spiritual receptivity in early days." So brief a work as this of Mr. Macpherson on so large a subject is avowedly for the general reader. Its account of Spencerism is preceded by a sketch of Spencer's intellectual environment, and brief critiques of his predecessors, Comte, Mill, and Huxley. His great originality is found in the uniqueness with which he has combined the inductive and deductive processes.

Synoptic Gospels, The. By George Lovell Cary, A.M., L.H.D. (International Handbooks to the New Testament. Edited by Orello Cone, D.D.) G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5½×8 in. 375 pages. $2.

The series in which this new volume has appeared is distinguished both by critical scholarship and popular adaptation. As in the present instance, it exhibits the results rather than the details of critical processes, and is not too difficult for the use of Bible students in general. President Cary is an adept in scholarly method, both compressed and clear. While it is manifest that orthodoxy has no interest for him, there is also a marked absence of dogmatism of any kind. Dr. Cary prefers to state different views with the reasons severally adduced, and remit them to the reader's choice; *e.g.*, the various theories of the resurrection of Jesus. We miss, however, in his treatment of the historical problem concerning Quirinius as Governor of Syria any reference to the theory, recently so plausibly set forth by Professor Ramsay, of a *military* hegemony of Quirinius—which, if tenable, restores the credit to Luke's accuracy that Dr. Cary here withholds. But, with whatever small defects, a popular handbook like this supplies both in candor and thoroughness a want that has been often expressed.

Talks with Barbara. By Elizabeth Knight Tompkins. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 279 pages. $1.50.

Gentle and refined in manner; in substance, a suggestive and readable discussion on current social and ethical topics between a bright girl and a friend of the other sex. There is nothing aggressively combative in the views set forth, but they are presented with grace and humor, and sometimes with wholesome plain-speaking.

Thomas Guthrie. By Oliphant Smeaton. (Famous Scots Series.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4½×7¼ in. 160 pages. 75c.

The latest addition to the Famous Scots Series is an account of the great preacher-philanthropist. Whether considered as a parish minister, as a Free Church apologist, as an apostle of temperance, or as the friend of education, Guthrie was alike remarkable and admirable. Mr. Smeaton gives us a clear and concise account of the lofty enthusiast.

Three Prophetic Days. By William Frederick. Published by the Author at Clyde, Ohio. 5×7½ in. 230 pages.

To the Healing of the Sea. By Francis H. Hardy. Drexel Biddle, Philadelphia, 4¾×7½ in. 302 pages.

True Citizen, The: How to Become One. By W. F. Markwick, D.D., and W. A. Smith, A.B. 4¾×7¼ in. 259 pages. 60c.

Well planned to teach the individual virtues upon which good citizenship rests, as well as the distinctively public virtues which good citizenship demands. The book has not, however, the literary, or rather the personal, power essential to make its instruction an inspiration.

Wesley and Methodism. By F. J. Snell, M.A. (The World's Epoch-Makers.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4¾×7¼ in. 243 pages. $1.25.

This is not a new biography of Wesley, though presenting a striking portrait of him. It is not a new history of Methodism, though sketching its gradual evolution. Following the sequence of ideas rather than that of events, it exhibits the man and the movement as related in clear and true perspective. It is eminently fit that this should be done for the Oxford evangelist and his Oxford movement by an Oxford scholar like Mr. Snell, who terms him "a glorious being," while the critical temper which underlies this admiration expresses itself in calling him "a doctrinal weathercock." In a field so often worked over one can expect to find little that is new, except in a critical estimate of particulars and a philosophic discernment of their relations. In this respect Mr. Snell's work, as a corrective of one-sided views, is a valuable addition to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the existing literature of Methodism and to the list of small books on great subjects.

Wings of Silence. By George Cossins. Drexel Biddle, Philadelphia. 4¾×7¼ in. 293 pages.

Works of Lord Byron. Poetry. Vol. III. Edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge, M.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×8 in. $2.

This volume contains the six long poems, "Lara," "The Corsair," "The Giaour," "The Siege of Corinth," "Parisina," and "The Bride of Abydos," composed in the three years between 1812 and 1815, together with the Hebrew Melodies, and the minor poems written between 1809 and 1816. The edition will receive fuller attention later.

Young Folks' Cyclopædia of Persons and Places. By John Denison Champlin, A.M. Illustrated. (Third Edition, Revised.) Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 958 pages. $2.50.

The series of reference books for young people to which this volume belongs has long been recognized as of value for the juvenile library. We are glad to know that a new and third edition of this book is necessary; it is clear, compact, and comprehensive.

Notes and Queries

It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address.

I desire information relative to the parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke xvi.). 1. By what system of bookkeeping was it possible for the steward to make his accounts seem right by his telling the debtors to lower the amount they owed? This would make it appear that the debtor and not the creditor kept the account. 2. Since the steward apparently came out all right and received the commendation of his lord, how does this enforce the truth that one cannot serve two masters? 3. Comment on verse 9. G. A. H.

1. The steward's books were about to be overhauled. In these the sums due from tenants were probably entered at the lower figures mentioned. But the leases (or, in Greek, "writings") specified the rent in the higher figures, and these would have to be compared with the books. The steward, therefore, reduced these so as to correspond with the books. Of course he had been pocketing the fraudulent excess, but wished the tenants to show gratitude to him for a supposed reduction of their rent. 2. His master's approval of this merely prudential restitution was certainly qualified by insight into the motive of it, and does not imply that the rogue kept his place. Evidently he had served only one master—himself. 3. It means this: So employ in benevolence the wealth that others use unrighteously that, when it ceases to be yours, you may be greeted in the heavenly mansions by the friends you have made thereby.

Please give a bibliography with brief characterization of the best literature on modern Sunday-school methods; the problem being "How to make the Sunday-school scientific and ethical?" X.

Dr. Trumbull's "Yale Lectures on the Sunday-School," ($2), "Teaching and Teachers," and "A Model Superintendent" ($1.25 each, Scribners, New York); Dr. Boynton's "Model Sunday-School" (Pilgrim Press, Boston, 30 cents); Bailey's "Blackboard in Sunday-School" (The W. A. Wilde Company, Boston, 75 cents), the best book on the subject; Sheldon's "An Ethical Sunday-School" (The Macmillan Company, New York, $1.25), radical, but full of valuable suggestions.

1. Does not the use of *Elohim*, the plural of *Eloah*, indicate that the writer of Genesis i. believed in a plurality of gods? 2. Does not the use of Jahveh-Elohim, used by the writer of Genesis ii., indicate that he believed Jahveh to be a superior one among the gods? S. C. Y.

1. No; for the verb *bārā*, translated "created," is in the singular number. 2. No; the joining of the two names by which the Deity was known seems designed as a testimony to the truth that God is one.

Kindly suggest the best one or two books on archæology and prophecy. A. G.

McCurdy's "History, Prophecy, and the Monuments" (The Macmillan Company, New York, 2 vols., each $3).

Please state if the "Diatessaron" referred to in Dr. Abbott's second paper on the "Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews" has been translated into English, and, if so, where it can be obtained. W. K. V.

It has been published by T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh, entitled "The Earliest Life of Jesus Christ," and can be ordered of Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

"C. T. B." on *Immortality*. Several inquiries and comments have been elicited by our answer to you May 26. We therefore explain further. Distinguish between the *popular* sense of immortality, in which "C. T. B." seemed to use it and we accordingly replied, and its strict meaning. Strictly, it means survival of physical death. This we hold true of every man. Popularly, it means everlasting, or at least indefinitely continuing, life hereafter. In this sense it is, as we said, "not an endowment of nature, but an achievement of moral effort," in faithful obedience to the laws of spiritual life. Hereafter, as here, the persistence of life must be conditioned on persistence in the life-preserving way. No gift of God is unconditional. In regard to immortality, the line between a brute and a man is drawn by that deep rift which runs between life that is non-personal and life that is personal, or at least endowed with the capacity of developing into moral personality, a capacity existing in the youngest human being. If man had never sinned, immortality (in its popular sense) would still have depended on the fulfillment of the same condition as now, though the condition would not have been violated.

"C. L. P."—Our reply by mail to your mathematical problem has been returned to us from your post-office as "not called for." Similar cases are not uncommon, in which our correspondents fail of answer through a fault which is not ours. In this case considerable effort was made to obtain the information sent. All inquiries deserve the waste-basket which lack the writer's name and address, as required.

Many of the inquirers who write to us asking for the publishers and the prices of certain books can obtain the information more quickly by inquiry of booksellers in the cities where they reside. Those also who live near public libraries or college libraries would do well to exhaust the local sources of information before applying to us.

"The son of parents passed into the skies" will be found in Cooper's "Address to My Mother's Picture:"

"And higher still my proud pretensions rise,
The son of parents passed into the skies."

G. K. A.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reduced Prices on Suits and Skirts

We have on hand several hundred pieces of fine Spring and Summer suitings and skirtings which we wish to dispose of in order to reduce our stock. You can now secure a fashionable garment made to order at a **great reduction from former prices.** Order from this Reduced Price Sale as freely as you wish; send back anything you don't like and *we will refund your money.* **One-third has been cut off the price** of nearly every cloth suit and skirt in our line, and every wash suit and skirt has been reduced to one-half of former prices, but the quality of materials and workmanship is right up to our usual standard—just as good as if you paid double the money.

Tailor-made Suits, lined throughout; former price $10; reduced to $6.67. $15 Suits reduced to $10. $20 Suits reduced to $13.34. $25 Suits reduced to $16.67.

Separate All-wool Skirts; former price $6; reduced to $4.

$7 Skirts reduced to $4.67. $9 Skirts reduced to $6.

Handsome Wash Suits in the newest models; former price $4; reduced to $2.

$5 Wash Suits reduced to $2.50. $6 Wash Suits reduced to $3.

Wash Skirts, indispensable for summer wear; former price $3; reduced to $1.50.

$4 Wash Skirts reduced to $2. $5 Wash Skirts reduced to $2.50.

Reduced prices on Bicycle Suits, Separate Bicycle Skirts, Rainy-Day Suits and Skirts.

We are also closing out a few sample garments, which were made up for exhibition in our salesroom, at one-half regular prices. We tell you about hundreds of reduced-price garments in our Summer Catalogue and Bargain List, which will be sent *FREE*, together with samples of materials, to any lady who wishes them. Write to-day for Catalogue, samples, and Bargain List; don't delay—the choicest goods will be sold first.

THE NATIONAL CLOAK CO., 119 and 121 West 23d St., New York

A great Remedy for Rheumatism

Mr. J. R. Morse, of the American Trading Company, Front Street, New York, writes: "Your TARTARLITHINE for rheumatism is simply GREAT. I want to present some of it to friends of mine. Please send me half a dozen bottles.

Tartarlithine is supplied in bottles containing 50 doses at $1.00 and can be obtained of all druggists or post-free by mail. Pamphlets with Testimonials sent FREE.

McKESSON & ROBBINS,
97 Fulton Street, New York.
Sole Agents for THE TARTARLITHINE CO.

IN THE LAKE COUNTRY

Of Northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, there are hundreds of the most charming Summer Resorts awaiting the arrival of thousands of tourists from the South and East.

Among the list of near-by places are Fox Lake, Delavan, Lauderdale, Waukesha, Oconomowoc, Palmyra, The Dells at Kilbourn, Elkhart, and Madison, while a little further off are Minoqua, Star Lake, Frontenac, White Bear, Minnetonka, and Marquette on Lake Superior.

For pamphlet of

"Summer Homes for 1900"

or for copy of our handsomely illustrated Summer book entitled

"In The Lake Country"

apply to nearest ticket agent, or address with four cents in postage,

GEO. H. HEAFFORD, Gen'l Passenger Agent,
Old Colony Building, Chicago, Ill.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECREATION DEPARTMENT

YOUR SUMMER PLANS

may perhaps be more easily arranged if you will let the Recreation Department of The Outlook assist you.

A full supply of the printed matter issued by the specially good and in many cases highly recommended houses in all parts of the world is kept constantly on hand, together with the latest printed matter issued by Railroads, the Sailings of Ocean Steamers, and the Itineraries of Tours.

Write stating the section you desire to learn about and the price you wish to pay for accommodations

A charge of *twenty-five cents* is made for each inquiry, and the answer comes by early mail prepaid.

The Recreation Department THE OUTLOOK
287 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Ghost of the Glacier

And Other Tales, including Making a Revolution, Susquehanna Trail, Sculpture of the Elfs, Once a Pillar of the World, Feathers of Fashion, and others. A delightful volume, beautifully illustrated. Now ready for distribution. Send 10 cents to T. W. Lee, General Passenger Agent, Lackawanna Railroad, 26 Exchange Place, New York City. Edition Limited.

Reduced Rates to Charleston, S. C., via Pennsylvania Railroad

For the meeting of the National Educational Association at Charleston, S. C., July 7-13, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company will sell excursion tickets from all stations on its lines to Charleston at the rate of one fare for the round trip, plus $2.00. Tickets to be sold July 5 to 8, inclusive, and to be good to return until September 1, inclusive. On the return trip stop-over will be allowed at Washington on deposit of ticket with Joint Agent and on payment of fee of $1.00.

EUROPE

THE CRAWFORD TOURS

PARIS and PASSION PLAY

Select Summer and Fall Parties. Escorted tours to all parts of the world. Independent steamer and railway tickets. Special inducements to clubs and societies. Illustrated itineraries free.

CRAWFORD & FLOYD, 608-610 Tremont Building, Boston; 220 Broadway, New York City; 1011 Chestnut St., Philadelphia; 621 Marquette Building, Chicago.

Before Starting for the Country, have

WESTCOTT EXPRESS CO. CHECK YOUR BAGGAGE

OFFICES, WITH TELEPHONE CONNECTIONS:

NEW YORK

14 Park Place, 314 Canal Street, 52 Lafayette Place, 654 Columbus Avenue, 95 Fifth Avenue, 1216 Broadway, Grand Central Station, 133 West 125th Street, Foot of Barclay Street, Foot of Franklin Street, Foot of Christopher Street, Foot of West 42d Street.

BROOKLYN

338 Fulton Street, 726 Fulton Street, 20 Dean Street, 106 Broadway.
And at all offices of Brooklyn District Telegraph Co.

Europe

GOING ABROAD on a BICYCLE TRIP? Send for "Bicycling Notes for Tourists Abroad," 10 cents in stamps. The fine new steamers of the

LEYLAND LINE
BOSTON TO LIVERPOOL

1st cabin, winter, $60 and up. Splendid new steamer Winifredian, 10,500 tons, 570 ft. long,

Sails from Boston July 3d

F. O. HOUGHTON & CO., Gen'l Agents
115 State St., Boston

EUROPEAN TOURS

Parties small and selected
Circulars on application.
DUNNING & SAWYER, 106 Congregational House, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

PARIS EXPOSITION

Furnished Rooms To Rent

Central, near Boulevards. References. Address STAMM, 30 Rue Chaptal, Paris, or C. T. L., 12 East 22d St., New York City.

Europe

A RARE OPPORTUNITY

for the inexperienced traveler. An American college woman, several years resident in Paris, with wide experience in foreign travel, will act as guide and chaperon during the summer. Thorough knowledge of life and language of Paris and environs. French art and history a specialty. More extensive tours arranged as desired. Best references. Address Box 86, care MUNROE, 7 Rue Scribe, Paris.

AN ENGLISH LADY

of experience wishes to chaperon young ladies on the Continent. Expert in care of invalid. References exchanged. Address Miss HARCOURT, Grove Lodge, Highgate, N. London.

Paris Exposition

Select Party 36 days' Tour leaving August 18, 1900. First class throughout. Address Mrs. M. A. Crosley, 502 Bedford Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.

PARIS A PROTESTANT CLERGYMAN

and physician has two extra rooms in his home, 6 Rue Sedaine. Direct tramcars to Exposition. Board and lodging $2 a day. Address Dr. GEORGES MIGOT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED